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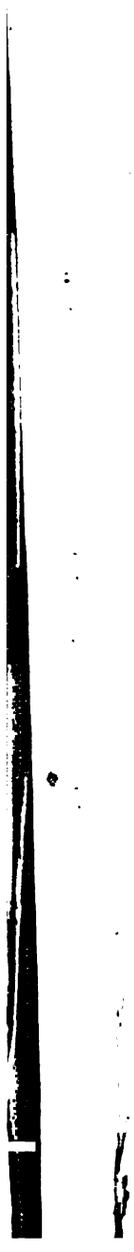

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OF
LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

VOL. II.

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CHAP. VI.

LORENZO endeavours to secure the peace of Italy—Rise of the modern idea of the balance of power—Conspiracy of Frescobaldi—Expulsion of the Turks from Otranto—The Venetians and the pope attack the duke of Ferrara—Lorenzo undertakes his defence—The Florentines and Neapolitans ravage the papal territories—The duke of Calabria defeated by Roberto Malatesta—Progress of the Venetian arms—Sixtus deserts and excommunicates his allies—Congress of Cremona—Death of Sixtus IV.—Succeeded by Giambattista Cibò, who assumes the name of Innocent VIII.—Lorenzo gains the confidence of the new pope—The Florentines attempt to recover the town of Sarzana—Capture of Pietra-Santa—Lorenzo retires to the baths of S. Filippo—The pope forms the design of possessing himself of the kingdom of Naples—Lorenzo supports the king—Prevails upon the Florentines to take a decided part—Effects a reconciliation between the king and the pope—Suppresses the insurrection at Osimo—Capture of Sarzana—Lorenzo protects the smaller states of Italy—The king of Naples infringes his treaty with the pope—Peace again restored—Review of the government of Florence—Regulations introduced by Lorenzo—Prosperity of the Florentine state—High reputation of Lorenzo—General tranquillity of Italy.

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SOON after the termination of hostilities between Sixtus IV. and the republic of Florence, Lorenzo began to unfold those comprehensive plans for securing the peace of Italy on a permanent foundation, which confer the highest honour on his political life. Of the extensive authority which he had obtained by his late conduct, every day afforded additional proof; and it appears to have been his intention to employ it for the wisest and most salutary purposes. By whatever motives he was led to this great attempt, he pursued it with deep policy and unceasing assiduity, and finally experienced a degree of success equal to his warmest expectations.

Lorenzo endeavours to secure the peace of Italy.

1481.

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Rise of the modern idea of the balance of power.

The situation of Italy at this period afforded an ample field for the exercise of political talents. The number of independent states of which it was composed, the inequality of their strength, the ambitious views of some, and the ever active fears of others, kept the whole country in continual agitation and alarm. The vicinity of these states to each other, and the narrow bounds of their respective dominions, required a promptitude of decision in cases of disagreement, unexampled in any subsequent period of modern history. Where the event of open war seemed doubtful, private treachery was without scruple resorted to; and where that failed of success, an appeal was again made to arms. The pontifical see had itself set the example of a mode of conduct that burst asunder all the bonds of society, and operated as a convincing proof that nothing was thought unlawful which appeared to be expedient. To counterpoise all the jarring interests of these different governments, to restrain the powerful, to succour the weak, and to unite the whole in one firm body, so as to enable them, on the one hand, successfully to oppose the formidable power of the Turks, and, on the other, to repel the incursions of the French and the Germans, both of whom were objects of terror to the less warlike inhabitants of Italy, were the important ends which Lorenzo proposed to accomplish. The effectual defence of the Florentine dominions against the encroachments of their more powerful neighbours, though perhaps his chief inducement for engaging in so extensive a project, appeared in the execution of it, rather as a necessary part of his system, than as the principal object which he had in view. In these transactions we may trace the first decisive instance of that political

tical arrangement, which was more fully developed and more widely extended in the succeeding century, and which has since been denominated the balance of power. Casual alliances, arising from consanguinity, from personal attachment, from vicinity, or from interest, had indeed frequently subsisted among the Italian states; but these were only partial and temporary engagements, and rather tended to divide the country into two or more powerful parties, than to counterpoise the interests of individual governments, so as to produce in the result the general tranquillity (*a*).

But

(*a*) It is commonly understood that the idea of a systematic arrangement, for securing to states, within the same sphere of political action, the possession of their respective territories, and the continuance of existing rights, is of modern origin, having arisen among the Italian states in the fifteenth century. *Robertson's Hist. of Cha.* V. *v.* i. *sec.* 2. But Mr. Hume has attempted to shew that this system, if not theoretically understood, was at least practically adopted by the ancient states of Greece and the neighbouring governments. *Essays, v.* i. *part* ii. *Essay* 7, In adjusting the extent to which these opinions may be adopted, there is no great difficulty. Wherever mankind have formed themselves into societies, (and history affords no instance of their being found in any other state,) the conduct of a tribe, or a nation, has been marked by a general will; and states, like individuals, have had their antipathies and predilections, their jealousies, and their fears. The powerful have endeavoured to oppress the weak, and the weak have sought refuge from the powerful in their mutual union. Notwithstanding the great degree of civilization that obtained among the Grecian states, their political conduct seems to have been directed upon no higher principle; conquests were pursued as opportunity offered, and precautions for safety were delayed till the hour of danger arrived. The preponderating mass of the Roman republic attracted into its vortex whatever was opposed to its influence; and the violent commotions of the middle ages, by which that immense body was again broken into new forms, and impelled in vague and eccentric directions, postponed to a late period the possibility of regulated action. The transactions in Italy, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bear indeed a strong resemblance to those which took place among

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Conspiracy of Frescobaldi.

But before Lorenzo engaged in these momentous undertakings, he had further personal dangers to encounter. The moderation of his conduct could neither extinguish nor allay the insatiable spirit of revenge that burnt in the breast of Girolamo Riario. Defeated in his ambitious projects by the superior talents of Lorenzo, he once more had recourse to his treacherous practices; and, by an intercourse with some of the Florentine exiles, again found, even in Florence, the instruments of his purpose. By their instigation Battista Frescobaldi, with only two assistants, undertook to assassinate Lorenzo in the church of the Carmeli, on the day of Ascension, being the last day of May, 1481. This attempt was not conducted with the ſame secrecy as that which we have before related. The friends of Lorenzo were watchful for his safety. Frescobaldi was seized, and having upon his examination disclosed his accomplices, was executed with them on the 6th day of the following month (*a*). The treachery of Frescobaldi occasioned at Florence general surprize, and was almost regarded as an instance of insanity. He had been

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the Grecian states; but it was not till nearly the close of the latter century, that a system of general security and pacification was clearly developed, and precautions taken for insuring its continuance. Simple as this idea may now appear, yet it must be considered, that, before the adoption of it, the minds of men, and consequently the maxims of states, must have undergone an important change: views of aggrandizement were to be repressed; war was to be prosecuted, not for the purpose of conquest, but of security; and above all, an eye was to be found that could discern, and a mind that could comprehend so extended an object.

(*a*) The other conspirators were Filippo Balducci, and Amoretto, the illegitimate son of Guido Baldovinetti. *v. Ammir. lib.* 25.

been the consul of the Florentine republic at Pera, and it was at his instance that Bandini, the murderer of Giuliano, had been delivered up by Mahomet II. Yet neither the atrociousness of the crime, nor the dread of the example, deterred him from a similar enterprize. From this circumstance Lorenzo perceived the necessity of being more diligently on his guard against the attempts of his profligate antagonists; and whilst he lamented the depravity of the times, that rendered such a precaution necessary, he was generally surrounded, when he appeared in public, by a number of tried friends and adherents. In this respect he has not however escaped censure, although from a quarter where it should have been silenced by the sense of decency, if not by the feelings of gratitude. The kindness shewn by him to Raffaello Maffei the brother of Antonio, who, in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, had undertaken to be the immediate instrument of his destruction, has before been noticed (*a*). In return for such unmerited attention, this historian has availed himself of a measure which was rendered necessary by repeated instances of treachery, to represent Lorenzo as a gloomy tyrant, who supported his authority, and secured his safety in Florence, by the aid of a band of ruffians, and who found in music alone a solace from his anxiety (*b*). The reputation of Lorenzo is not however likely

(*a*) *Vol.* i. *p.* 206.

(*b*) "Post hæc Laurentius defunctus periculo, resipiscere paulatim, majoreque postmodum apud suos cives esse auctoritate, ac Tyranno propius agitare; cum sicariis incedere, excubiis ac nunciis diligentius invigilare, denique amissas in bello facultates undecunque recuperare cœpit. Vir aspectu tristi, ore truculento, sermone ingratus, animo factiosus, in curis agitans continuo præter unam musicæ solatium." *Raph. Volt. Com. Urb. p.* 153.

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likely to suffer more from the pen of one brother, than his person did from the dagger of the other.

Expulsion of the Turks from Otranto.

On the conclusion of the contest with the papal see, the first object not only of Lorenzo, but of all the Italian potentates, was the expulsion of the Turks from Otranto. For this purpose a league was concluded, to which the Venetians only refused to accede. Suspicions had already been entertained that Mahomet II. had been incited to his enterprize by the representations of that state; and these suspicions were strengthened by the indifference which the Venetians manifested on so alarming an occasion. It is however probable, that they kept aloof from the contest merely for the purpose of availing themselves of any opportunity of aggrandizement, which the exhausted situation of the neighbouring states might afford. With the powers of Italy, the kings of Aragon, of Portugal, and of Hungary united their arms. The city of Otranto was attacked by a formidable army under the command of the duke of Calabria; whilst the united fleets of the king of Naples, the pope, and the Genoese were stationed to prevent the arrival of further aid to the besieged. The place was however defended with great courage, and the event yet remained doubtful, when intelligence was received of the death of the emperor Mahomet II. who had established the seat of the Turkish empire at Constantinople, and been the scourge of Christendom for nearly half a century. Upon his death, a disagreement arose between his two sons Bajazet and Zizim; in consequence of which, the Turkish troops destined to the relief of Otranto were recalled, and the place was left to its fate. A capitulation

capitulation was concluded on the tenth day of September 1481, by which the Turks stipulated for a free return to their native country; but the duke of Calabria, on the surrender of the city, found a pretext for eluding the treaty, and retained as prisoners about fifteen hundred Turks, whom he afterwards employed in the different wars in which he was engaged (*a*).

The Venetians and the pope attack the duke of Ferrara.

Whilst the other states of Italy were thus engaged in the common cause, the Venetians had been devising means for possessing themselves of the dominions of Ercole d' Este, duke of Ferrara, and by the assistance of Girolamo Riario, had prevailed upon the pope to countenance their pretensions. The duke had married the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples; an alliance, which as it contributed to his credit and independence, had given great dissatisfaction to the Venetians. The first aggression was the erection of a fortress by those haughty republicans, on a part of the territory of Ferrara, which they pretended was within the limits of their own dominions. An embassy was immediately dispatched by the duke to Venice, to avert, if possible, the hostile intentions of the senate, and to conciliate their good-will by the fairest representations, and the fullest professions of amity. Finding his efforts ineffectual, the duke resorted for succour to the pope; but Sixtus was already apprized of the part he had to act, and whilst he heard his solicitations with apparent indifference, was secretly preparing to join in his ruin. The motives by which Sixtus was actuated are not difficult to be discovered. If

(*a*) *Murat. Ann.* v. ix. *p.* 537.

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If the family of Este could be deprived of their dominions, many circumstances concurred to justify the pretensions of the papal see to the sovereignty of Ferrara. That city was itself ranked among those over which the pontiffs asserted a signorial claim, which lay dormant, or was revived, as circumstances required; and although Sixtus could not singly contend with the Venetians in the division of the spoil, yet he well knew that the rest of Italy would interpose, to prevent their possessing themselves of a territory which would add so considerably to their power. In the contest therefore which he supposed must necessarily take place, Sixtus was not without hopes of vesting the government of Ferrara in his own family, in the person of Girolamo Riario, who was indefatigable in preparing for the approaching war.

Lorenzo undertakes his defence.

In this exigency, the duke of Ferrara had two powerful resources. One of these was in the support which he derived from his father-in-law the king of Naples; and the other in the claims which he had upon the known justice of Lorenzo de' Medici. Neither of these disappointed his hopes. By the interference of Lorenzo, the duke of Milan joined in the league; and the marquis of Mantua, and Giovanni Bentivoglio, also became auxiliaries in the cause. The command of the allied army was intrusted to Federigo, duke of Urbino; but the preparation and direction of the war chiefly rested on Lorenzo de' Medici, on whose activity and prudence the allied powers had the most perfect reliance (*a*).

The

(*a*) Fabroni has preserved a letter from the duke of Urbino to Lorenzo

The first object of the allies was to discover the intentions of the pope. No sooner had the Venetians commenced their attack on the territory of Ferrara, than a formal request was made to Sixtus, to permit the duke of Calabria, with a body of Neapolitan troops, to pass through his dominions. His refusal sufficiently discovered the motives by which he was actuated. The duke immediately entered in a hostile manner the territories of the church, and having possessed himself of Terracina, Trevi, and other places, proceeded without interruption till he arrived within forty miles of Rome. At the same time the Florentine troops attacked and captured Castello, which was restored to Nicolo Vitelli, its former lord. By these unexpected and vigorous measures, Sixtus, instead of joining the Venetians, was compelled to solicit their assistance for his own protection. The duke had approached so near to Rome, that his advanced parties daily committed hostilities at the very gates of the city. In this emergency, the pope had the good fortune to prevail upon Roberto Malatesta, lord of Rimini, to take upon him the command of his army. This celebrated leader, who was then in the pay of the Venetians, on obtaining their permission to assist their ally, proceeded to Rome. Having there made the necessary arrangements, Roberto led out the papal troops, which were sufficiently numerous, and were only in need of an able general effectually to oppose their enemies. The duke of Calabria, being in daily expectation of a reinforcement under the command of his brother Federigo, would

The Florentines and Neapolitans ravage the papal territories.

1482.

de' Medici, which sufficiently shews the confidence that was reposed in him by the allies, and the active part which he took in preparing for the contest. *v. App. No.* XLIII.

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would gladly have avoided an engagement, but his adversary pressed him so vigorously, that he was compelled either to risque the event of a battle, or to incur the still greater danger of a disorderly retreat. This engagement, we are assured by Machiavelli, was the most obstinate and bloody that had occurred in Italy during the space of fifty years (*a*).

The duke of Calabria defeated by Roberto Malatesta.

After a struggle of six hours, the contest terminated in the total defeat of the duke, who owed his liberty, or his life, to the fidelity and courage of his Turkish followers. Having thus delivered the pope from the imminent danger that threatened him, Roberto returned to Rome to enjoy the honours of his victory; but his triumph was of short duration, for a few days after his arrival he suddenly died, not without giving rise to a suspicion, that poison had been administered to him by the intervention of Girolamo Riario (*b*). This suspicion received confirmation in the public opinion, by the subsequent conduct of Sixtus and his kinsman. No sooner was Roberto dead, than the pope erected an equestrian statue to his memory; and Riario proceeded with the army which Roberto had lately led to victory, to dispossess his illegitimate son Pandolfo, to whom he had bequeathed his possessions, of the city of Rimini (*c*). In this attempt the

(*a*) "E fu questa giornata combattuta con più virtu, chę alcun' altra che "fusse stata fatta in cinquanta anni in Italia; perchè vi morì tra l' una parte "e l' altra più che mille huomini." *Mac. Hist. lib.* 8.

(*b*) Gli scrittoro dicono che fu sospetto che egli fosse morto di veleno, & io nelle notizie private de Malatesti ritrovo, che l' autore di tanta sceleratezza fu creduto essere stato il conte Girolamo, nipote del papa, o per invidia, o pure con speranza di poter metter le mani a quello stato, non lasciando Ruberto figliuoli leggitimi. *Ammir. lib.* 25.

(*c*) *Mac. Hist. lib.* 8.

the ecclesiastical plunderers would probably have been successful, had not the vigorous interference of Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom Pandolfo resorted for succour, and who sent a body of Florentine troops to his speedy relief, frustrated their profligate purpose. Riario then turned his arms towards Castello, which was courageously defended by Vitelli, till the Florentines once more gave him effectual aid. A similar attack, and with similar success, was about the same time made by Sixtus on the city of Pesaro, the dominion of Constantino Sforza; who having first engaged in the league against the Venetians, afterwards deserted his allies, and entered into their service, and was supposed to have died of grief because they had defrauded him of his stipulated pay (*a*).

Progress of the Venetian arms.

Whilst Sixtus was thus employed in defending his own dominions, or in attempting to seize upon those of his neighbours, the duke of Urbino had opposed himself to the Venetian army; but not with sufficient effect to prevent its making an alarming progress, and capturing several towns in the territory of Ferrara. The death of that general (*b*), and the sickness of the duke of Ferrara, which rendered him

(*a*) "Constantinus Sfortia Pisauri princeps fidus antea Florentinis, durante "adhuc stipendio, defecit ad Venetos. Neque multos post dies, tertiana fe- "bri correptus, mœrore ut creditur violatæ fidei, & a Venetis pacti non soluti "stipendii V Kal. Sextiles interiit." *Fontius in Annal. ap. Fabr.* ii. 235.

(*b*) The duke of Urbino and Roberto Malatesta died on the same day; one at Bologna, the other at Rome; each of them, although at the head of adverse armies, having recommended to the other the protection of his possessions and surviving family: "A dì 12 di Settembre, 1482, ci fu nuove el "Magnifico Roberto de Rimini era morto a Roma di flusso. Stimasi sia stato

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him incapable of attending with vigour to the defence of his dominions, opened to the Venetians the fullest prospect of success. This sudden progress of the republican arms was not however agreeable to the pope; who, having given no aid in the contest, began to be apprehensive that he could claim no share in the spoil, whilst so considerable an accession of power to the Venetians might scarcely be consistent with his own safety. At the same time he perceived a storm gathering against him from another quarter. The emperor had threatened to call together a general council of the church; a measure either originating with, or promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici; and for the effecting of which he had dispatched Baccio Ugolino to Basil (*a*). Induced by these various considerations, Sixtus was at length prevailed upon to detach himself from the Venetians, and to listen to propositions for a separate peace. Under the sanction of the imperial ambassador, a league was concluded at Rome for five years, between the pope, the king of Naples, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the defence of the duke of Ferrara. Sixtus, having engaged

Sixtus deserts and excommunicates his allies.

" avvelenato. El duca d'Urbino era morto in Bologna, che era andato al " soccorso di Ferrara. Morirono in un dì, e ciascuno di loro mandava a rac- " comandare all' altro il suo stato, e l'uno non seppe la morte dell' altro."
Ex Diario Allegretti ap. Fabr. v. ii. *p.* 245.

(*a*) Ugolino transmitted to Lorenzo, from time to time, a full account of his proceedings in several letters which are published by Fabroni, *in vitâ Laur. v.* ii. *p.* 227. From which it appears, that he was not without hopes of accomplishing his important object. " Non et non domandate," says he, " come " questi dottori della Università leggano con fervore le scripture che io ho pub- " licate quì in Consilio. Che più? Il papa è più inviso quì che costì, et se " l' Imperatore non ce la macchia, non sum sine spe di far qualcosa."

engaged in the common cause, was not inactive. Having first warned the Venetians to desist from the further progress of the war, and finding his remonstrances disregarded, he solemnly excommunicated his late allies (*a*). The Venetians however persisted in their purpose, regardless of his denunciations, and having captured the town of Ficarola, laid siege to the city of Ferrara itself.

Congress of Cremona.

At this important juncture a congress was held at Cremona, for the purpose of considering on the most effectual means of repressing the growing power of the Venetians, and of securing the rest of Italy from the effects of their ambition. The persons who assembled on this occasion were Alfonso duke of Calabria, Lodovico Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici, Lodovico Gonzaga marquis of Mantua, the duke of Ferrara; and on the part of the pope, Girolamo Riario, and the cardinal of Mantua, with others of inferior note. The king of France, aware of the character of Riario, advised Lorenzo by letter not to trust himself to this interview (*b*); but the important consequences expected from it induced him to disregard the precaution. Among other arrangements it was determined that the Milanese should endeavour to form a diversion by an attack on the Venetian territory, and that the duke of Calabria should repair with a powerful

(*a*) *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. adnot. & monum.* ii. 234.

(*b*) Thus he addresses Lorenzo in a letter dated xiii. Kal. Febr. 1482, *ap. Fabr. adnot. & mon. v.* ii. *p.* 243. "Alla Giornata di Ferrara dove dite avere "promesso andare, vi avrei consigliato non andasse punto, ma che guardaste "bene tener sicura vostra persona; perchè non conosco nè i personaggi nè il "luogo, dove v' habbiate a trovare, e v' avrei mandato uno imbasciatore di "quà in vostra excusatione; nientidimanco, poichè l'avete promesso, me ne "reporto a voi; et alla buona hora sia, et a Dio. LUIS."

CHAP. VI.

a powerful body of troops to the relief of the duke of Ferrara. By these decisive measures, a speedy and effectual stop was put to the further progress of the Venetian arms, whilst the allied troops over-ran the territories of Bergamo, of Brescia, and of Verona. Finding their attempt to subjugate the city of Ferrara frustrated, and solicitous for the safety of their own dominions, the Venetians had recourse to negotiation, and had sufficient influence with Lodovico Sforza to prevail upon him to desert the common cause. His dereliction induced the allies to accede to propositions for peace, which, though sufficiently favourable to the Venetians, secured the duke of Ferrara from the ambition of his powerful neighbours, and repressed that spirit of encroachment which the Venetians had manifested, as well on this as on former occasions.

1483.

Death of Sixtus IV.

As soon as the affairs of Italy were so adjusted as to give the first indications of permanent tranquillity, Sixtus died. The coincidence of these events gave rise to an opinion which was rendered in some degree credible by the knowledge of his restless disposition, that his death was occasioned by vexation at the prospect of a general peace (*a*). Of the character of this successor of St. Peter, we have already had sufficient proof. It must indeed be acknowledged, that no age has exhibited such flagrant instances of the depravity of the Roman see, as the close of the fifteenth

(*a*) He died on the 12th of August 1484, being the fifth day after peace was proclaimed at Rome. *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 546. 549. "O perchè fusse "il termine di sua vita venuto, o perchè il dolore della pace fatta, come nemica "a quella l'amazzasse." *Mac. Hist. lib.* 8.

teenth century, when the profligacy of Sixtus IV. led the way, at a short interval, to the still more outrageous and unnatural crimes of Alexander VI. The avarice of Sixtus was equal to his ambition. He was the first Roman pontiff who openly exposed to sale the principal offices of the church; but not satisfied with the disposal of such as became vacant, he instituted new ones, for the avowed purpose of selling them, and thereby contrived to obtain a certain emolument from the uncertain tenure by which he held his see. To Sixtus IV. posterity are also indebted for the institution of inquisitors of the press, without whose licence no work was suffered to be printed. In this indeed he gave an instance of his prudence; it being extremely consistent, that those who are conscious of their own misconduct should endeavour to stifle the voice that publishes and perpetuates it. Even Muratori acknowledges, that this pontiff had a heavy account to make up at the tribunal of God (*a*).

Succeeded by Giambattista Cibò, who assumes the name of Innocent VIII.

The death of Sixtus IV. who for the space of thirteen years had embroiled the states of Italy in constant dissensions, was a favourable omen of the continuance of tranquillity; and the choice made by the conclave of his successor seemed still further to secure so desirable an object. Giambattista Cibò, who obtained on this occasion the suffrages of the sacred college, was a Genoese by birth, though

1484.

(*a*) "Di grossi conti avrà avuto questo pontefice nel tribunale di Dio." *Annal. v.* ix. *p.* 538.

though of Greek extraction. The urbanity and mildness of his manners formed a striking contrast to the inflexible character of his predecessor. From his envoys at Rome, Lorenzo became early acquainted with the disposition of the new pope, who assumed the name of Innocent VIII. At the time of his elevation to the supremacy, he was about fifty-five years of age, and had several natural children. Vespucci, the correspondent of Lorenzo, represents him as a weak but well-disposed man, rather formed to be directed himself than capable of directing others (*a*).

Lorenzo gains the confidence of the new pope.

Lorenzo had perceived the disadvantages under which he laboured in his political transactions, on account of his dissensions with the papal see; and he therefore learnt with great satisfaction that the pope, soon after his elevation, had expressed a very favourable opinion of him, and had even avowed an intention of consulting him on all important occurrences. The power of the other Italian potentates was bounded by the limits of their respective dominions; but Lorenzo was well aware that the Roman pontiff, independent of his temporal possessions, maintained an influence that extended throughout all Christendom, and which might be found of the utmost importance to the promotion of his views. He therefore sedulously improved the occasion which the favourable opinion of Innocent afforded him; and in a short time obtained his confidence to such a degree, as to be intrusted with his most secret transactions and most

(*a*) Many particulars respecting this pontiff may be found in the letter from Vespucci to Lorenzo, extracted from the documents of Fabroni. *App. No.* XLIV.

most important concerns (*a*). This fortunate event also first opened to the Medici the dignities and emoluments of the church, and thereby led the way to that eminent degree of splendour and prosperity which the family afterwards experienced.

The Florentines attempt to recover the town of Sarzana.

To the carrying into effect the pacific intentions of Lorenzo, several obstacles yet remained. During the commotions in Italy, consequent on the conspiracy of the Pazzi, the town of Sarzana, situated near the boundaries of the Genoese and Florentine dominions, and which the Florentines had purchased from Lodovico Fregoso, had been forcibly wrested from them by Agostino, one of his sons. The important contests in which the Florentines were engaged had for some time prevented them from attempting the recovery of a place, to which, according to the established custom of the times, they had undoubted pretensions; but no sooner were they relieved from the anxiety and expence of external war, than they bent their whole attention to this object. In order to secure himself against the expected attack, Agostino had made a formal surrender of the town to the republic of Genoa, under which he professed to exercise the government. Lorenzo therefore entertained hopes, that, by the mediation of the new pope, his

(*a*) "Assettate che saranno queste vostre cose co' Genovesi Lorenzo conoscerà che non fu mai Pontefice, che amassi tanto la casa sua quanto io. Et avendo visto per esperienza, quanta sia la fede, integrità & prudentia sua, io farò tosto governarmi secondo i ricordi & pareri sua." Such was the language in which Innocent addressed himself to Pier Filippo Pandolfini, the Florentine ambassador. *Fabroni in vitâ*, v. ii. *p.* 263.

CHAP. VI.

Capture of Pietra-Santa.

his countrymen the Genoese might be induced to resign their pretensions; but his interference having proved ineffectual, the Florentines prepared to establish their right by arms. The approach to Sarzana necessarily lay by the town of Pietra-Santa, the inhabitants of which were expected to remain neuter during the contest; but a detachment of Florentine troops, escorting a quantity of provisions and ammunition, passing near that place, were attacked and plundered by the garrison (*a*). So unequivocal a demonstration of hostility rendered it necessary for the Florentines, before they proceeded to the attack of Sarzana, to possess themselves of Pietra-Santa. It was accordingly invested, and such artillery as was then in use was employed to reduce the inhabitants to submission. The Genoese however found means to reinforce the garrison, whilst the sickness of some of the Florentine leaders, and the inactivity of others, contributed to protract the siege. Dispirited by resistance, the count of Pitigliano, one of the Florentine generals, ventured even to recommend to the magistrates of Florence the relinquishment of the enterprize as impracticable, at least, for that season. These representations,

(*a*) Machiavelli, pleased in relating instances of that crooked policy in which he is supposed to have been himself an adept, informs us, that the Florentines, wanting a pretext for a rupture with the inhabitants of Pietra-Santa, directed a part of their baggage to pass near that place, for the purpose of inducing the garrison to make an attack upon it. *Hist. lib.* 8. And Fabroni, on what authority it is not easy to discover, expressly attributes this artifice to Lorenzo de' Medici, *in vitâ Laur. v.* i. *p.* 127. But Ammirato, whose veracity is undoubted, asserts that this incident took place without any premeditated design on the part of the Florentines, introducing his narrative with a direct censure of the relation of Machiavelli: "Hor volle più tosto il caso, che "artificio alcuno, il quale và il Machiavelli accattando, &c." *Ist. Fior. lib.* 25.

presentations, instead of altering the purpose of Lorenzo, only excited him to more vigorous exertion; by his recommendation, the command of the Florentine troops was given to Bernardo del Nero, and soon afterwards Lorenzo joined the army in person. His presence and exhortations had the most powerful effect on his countrymen. Within the space of a few days after his arrival, the besiegers reduced the place to such extremity, that proposals were made for a capitulation, which were acceded to by Lorenzo; and the town was received into the protection of the Florentine republic, without further molestation to the inhabitants (*a*).

Lorenzo retires to the baths of S. Filippo.

From Pietra-Santa it was the intention of Lorenzo, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, to have proceeded immediately to the attack of Sarzana, but the long and unhealthy service in which the army had been engaged, rendered a temporary cessation of hostilities indispensable. Several of the principal commanders, together with Antonio Pucci, one of the Florentine commissioners to the army, had fallen victims to the fatigues of the war; and Lorenzo, who laboured under a chronic, and perhaps an hereditary complaint, was soon afterwards obliged to resort to the baths of S. Filippo for relief. Before he recovered his health, his attention was called towards a different quarter, in which all his exertions became necessary to preserve his pacific system from total destruction.

This

(*a*) *Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib.* 25.

CHAP. VI.

The pope forms the design of possessing himself of the kingdom of Naples.

1485.

This commotion originated in the turbulent designs of Sixtus IV. who had sown the seeds of it in his lifetime, although they did not spring up till after his death. The Neapolitan nobility, exasperated with the princes of the house of Aragon, who had endeavoured to abridge their power and independence, were prepared, whenever occasion offered, to attempt the recovery of their rights. In restraining the exorbitant power of the nobles, which was equally formidable to the king and oppressive to the people, Ferdinand might have been justified by the expediency of the measure, and protected by the affections of his subjects; but, in relieving them from the exactions of others, he began to oppress them himself, and thus incautiously incurred that odium, which had before been exclusively bestowed upon his nobility. The spirit of disaffection that soon became apparent was not unobserved by Sixtus, who, in addition to the ambitious motives by which he was generally actuated, felt no small degree of resentment against Ferdinand, for having, without his concurrence, concluded a peace with the Florentines. A secret intercourse was carried on between the pope and the Neapolitan barons, whose resentment was ready to burst out in an open flame when Sixtus died. This event retarded, but did not defeat the execution of their purpose. No sooner was Innocent seated in the chair, than they began to renew with him the intercourse which they had carried on with his predecessor. They reminded him that the kingdom of Naples was itself a fief of the Roman see; they represented the exhausted state of the king's finances, and the aversion which he had incurred from his subjects, as well by his own severity, as by the cruelties exercised in his name by the

duke of Calabria; and exhorted him to engage in an attempt, the success of which was evident, and would crown his pontificate with glory (*a*). The pacific temper of Innocent was dazzled with the splendour of such an acquisition. He encouraged the nobility to proceed in their designs; he raised a considerable army, the command of which he gave to Roberto Sanseverino; several of the principal cities of Naples openly revolted, and the standard of the pope was erected at Salerno. On the first indication of hostilities, the king had sent his son John, who had obtained the dignity of a cardinal, to Rome, for the purpose of inducing the pope to relinquish his attempt; but the death of the cardinal blasted the hopes, and added to the distresses of his father (*b*). Attacked at the same time by foreign and domestic enemies, Ferdinand saw no shelter from the storm, but in the authority and assistance of Lorenzo. The attachment that subsisted between him and the pope was indeed known to Ferdinand; but he had himself some claims upon his kindness, and had reason to believe that he could not regard with indifference, an attempt which, if successful, would effect a total change in the political state of Italy. Lorenzo did not hesitate on the part it became him to act. No sooner was he apprized of the dangerous situation of Ferdinand, than he left the baths of S. Filippo and hastened to Florence, where, on his first interview with

Lorenzo supports the king.

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 51.

(*b*) His death was attributed to poison, given to him by Antonello Sanseverino, prince of Salerno. *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 542. The frequency of these imputations, though perhaps not always founded on fact, strongly mark the character of the age.

CHAP. VI.

with the envoy of the king, he gave him the most unequivocal assurances of active interference and support. Lorenzo however saw the necessity of applying an effectual remedy to the increasing evil, and with a degree of freedom which the urgency of the occasion required, entreated the king to relax in his severity towards his subjects. "It "grieves me to the soul," thus he writes to Albino the Neapolitan envoy, "that the duke of Calabria should "have acquired, even undeservedly, the imputation of "cruelty. At all events he ought to endeavour to remove "every pretext for the accusation, by the most cautious "regard to his conduct. If the people be displeased with "the late impositions, it would be advisable to abolish them, "and to require only the usual payments; for one *carlino* "obtained with good-will and affection, is better than ten "accompanied with dissatisfaction and resentment." He afterwards remonstrates with the king, through the same channel, on his harsh and imprudent conduct to some merchants, who it appears had been dismissed from Naples, for having demanded from him the monies which they had advanced for his use." "If the king satisfy them not," says he, "by paying their demands, he ought at least "to appease them by good words; to the end that he may "not afford them an opportunity of treating his name "with disrespect, and of gaining credit at the same time "to what is, and to what is not true." The reply of Ferdinand to Albino is sufficiently expressive of the respect which he paid to these admonitions (*a*); but unfortunately, the

(*a*) In reference to this letter of Lorenzo, which may be found in the Appendix, No. XLV. The king replies to Albino, "Lo consiglio de detto Mag.

the precepts which he approved in theory, he forgot to adopt in his practice; and to the neglect of these counsels, rather than to the courage or the conduct of Charles VIII. the subsequent expulsion of his family from the kingdom of Naples is unquestionably to be referred.

Prevails upon the Florentines to take a decided part.

The authority of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence was not the authority of despotism, but that of reason; and it therefore became necessary, that the measures which he might adopt should meet with the approbation of the citizens at large. He accordingly, without delay, called together the principal inhabitants, but had the mortification to find that the proposition which he laid before them, to afford assistance to the king, was received by his hearers with general disapprobation; some exclaiming against him, as being too precipitate in involving the republic in dangerous and expensive wars; whilst others condemned the freedom with which he opposed the Roman pontiff, and subjected himself and his fellow-citizens to those ecclesiastial censures, the ill effects of which they had so recently experienced. On this occasion, Lorenzo was reminded, that the Venetians would probably unite with the pope in subjugating the kingdom of Naples; in which case, the intervention of the Florentines would only involve them in the same ruin that threatened the Neapolitan state. The solicitations and remonstrances of his fellow-citizens shook not

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" Lorenzo, che abbiamo li occhi ad tutto, e mostramo in alcuna cosa non in-
" tendere, &c. ci è stato gratissimo, per essere prudentissimo e sapientissimo."

not the purpose of Lorenzo. Through the thick mist of popular fears and prejudices, he distinctly saw the beacon of the public welfare; and the arguments of his adversaries had already been anticipated and refuted in his own mind. That eloquence which he possessed in so eminent a degree was never more successfully exerted; and the reasons that had determined his own judgment were laid before his audience in a manner so impressive, as to overpower all opposition, and induce them unanimously to concur in his opinion. "This oration," says Valori, "as committed to "writing by some of his hearers, I have myself perused; "and it is not possible to conceive any composition more "copious, more elegant, or more convincing (*a*)."

The situation of Ferdinand became every day more critical. A general defection of his nobility took place. The two brothers of the family of the Coppula, one of whom was his prime counsellor, and the other the treasurer of the kingdom, held a treacherous correspondence with his enemies; and the duke of Calabria, who had advanced towards Rome to prevent a junction of the pontifical troops with those of the insurgents, was totally defeated by Sanseverino, and obliged to fly for protection into the territories of Florence. It was matter of gratification to some, and of surprize to all, that the very man, who, by his sanguinary and tyrannical disposition, had a short time before spread terror through the whole extent of Tuscany, should now appear as a fugitive at

(*a*) *Valor in vitâ Laur. p.* 53.

at Montepulciano, imploring the assistance of the Florentines, and waiting the arrival of Lorenzo de' Medici; who, being prevented by sickness from complying with his expectations, dispatched two of the principal citizens to assure the duke of the attachment of the Florentines to the house of Aragon, and of their determination to exert themselves to the utmost in its defence.

Effects a reconciliation between the king and the pope.

The military force of the republic, which seldom exceeded five thousand men, would have rendered small service in the contest, and it therefore became necessary to resort to other expedients. By the pecuniary assistance of the Florentines, the duke of Calabria was again enabled to take the field, and at their instance several eminent leaders of Italy engaged in the service of the king. The influence that Lorenzo possessed with Lodovico Sforza was successfully exerted to engage the states of Milan in the came cause. The powerful Roman family of the Orsini was induced not only to discountenance the enterprize of the pope, but to appear openly in arms against him; and Innocent began to dread that the conflagration which he had excited, or encouraged, in the kingdom of Naples, might extend to his own dominions. At the same time Lorenzo de' Medici, having still maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with the pope, assailed him with those arguments which he knew were best calculated to produce their effect. He represented the evils and disgrace that must arise to all Christendom, from the frequent example set by the head of the church, of appealing on all occasions to the sword. He pointed out the improbability that the northern powers of Italy would permit the Roman see to

annex to its dominions, either directly or indirectly, so extensive a territory as the kingdom of Naples; and earnestly exhorted the pope not to waste his resources, disturb his tranquillity, and endanger his safety, in a conflict which, at best, could only terminate in substituting to the house of Aragon some of those fortunate adventurers who had led the armies employed in its expulsion. Whether the appearances of hostility operated on the fears, or the reasoning of Lorenzo on the judgment of the pope, may remain in doubt; but the ardour with which he engaged in the conflict gradually abated; and Sanseverino was left to avail himself of his own courage, and that of the troops under his command, without receiving either orders to retire, or supplies to enable him to proceed. The languor that became apparent between the contending sovereigns seemed to have communicated itself to their armies; which having met on the eighth day of May 1486, an encounter took place, in which Ammirato not only acknowledges, that not a soldier was slain, but that he had found no memorial that even one of the combatants was wounded, though the contest continued for many hours, and only terminated with the day (*a*). In this harmless trial of muscular strength, Sanseverino and his followers were however forced off the field, and the consequences were as decisive as if the contest had been of the most sanguinary kind; for the king, availing himself of this circumstance, and apprized by Lorenzo of the favourable

(*a*) Ecco che nel volersi movere, si venne l' ottavo giorno di maggio al fatto d' arme; se merita di fatto d' arme haver nome una giornata, nella quale non che fosse alcun morto, ma non si fa memoria, che fosse alcun ferito.
Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib. 25. p. 174.

able alteration in the temper of the pope, lost no time in laying before him such propositions for the accommodation of their dispute, as afforded him an opportunity of declining it with credit to himself, and apparent safety to his Neapolitan confederates. By the conditions of this treaty, the king acknowledged the jurisdiction of the apostolic see, and agreed to pay to the pope a stipulated subsidy. Besides which, he engaged to pardon, freely and unconditionally, the nobles who had revolted against him.

1486.

Suppresses the insurrection at Osimo.

The oppressive conduct of the Italian sovereigns, or the restless dispositions of their subjects, seldom admitted of a long continuance of tranquillity; and as Lorenzo had acquired a reputation for impartiality and moderation, the dissensions that occasionally arose were generally submitted to his decision. The political contentions in which the pope was engaged, displayed indeed an ample field for the exercise of his talents. Important as the favour of the Roman see might be to the success of his labours, it was not preserved without an unremitting attention to its interests. In the year 1486, Buccolino Guzzoni, a citizen of Osimo, a part of the papal territories, incited the inhabitants to revolt. The cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II. was dispatched by the pope to reduce the place to obedience; but threats and entreaties were alike ineffectual, and the inhabitants avowed their resolution to surrender the city to the Turks, rather than again submit to the authority of the pope. From the success of the insurgents, the example began to spread through the adjoining districts; when Lorenzo dispatched Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, with instructions to treat with Buccolino for a reconciliation.

What

What the obstinacy of Buccolino had refused to the representations of the pope, was conceded to those of Lorenzo, under whose sanction the terms of the treaty were speedily concluded, and Buccolino accompanied the ambassador of Lorenzo to Florence. Muratori informs us, that the artifice by which Lorenzo extricated the pope from his turbulent adversary, was the timely application of some thousands of golden ducats; and this he accompanies with an insinuation, which, if justly founded, would degrade the magnanimous character of Lorenzo to a level with that of his sanguinary and treacherous contemporaries. "Having invited Buccolino to Florence," says that author, "Lorenzo, with great address, prevailed upon him, for his "further security, to repair to Milan; but the security that "he there found was a halter from the hands of Lodovico "Sforza (*a*)." If, however, the death of Buccolino, when the contention was over, was of such importance as to induce Lorenzo to the commission of so atrocious a crime, it is scarcely probable that he would have afforded his victim so favourable an opportunity of escaping the blow; but without having recourse to conjecture, a refutation of this calumny may be found in an author, who, not being considered as partial to the Medici, may on this occasion be admitted as an authentic witness. "After the surrender "of Osimo," says Machiavelli, "Buccolino resided a con-"siderable time at Florence, under the safeguard of Lo-"renzo, honoured and respected. He afterwards went to "Milan, where he did not experience the same fidelity, "having

(*a*) *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 554. *cit. Raynal. Annal. Eccles.*

" having been treacherously put to death there by Lo-
" dovico Sforza (*a*)."

Capture of Sarzana.

1487.

The remonstrances of the Florentines to the Genoese to relinquish the dominion of Sarzana, being yet disregarded, and the peaceable intervention of the pope and the duke of Milan appearing to be ineffectual, Lorenzo prepared for a powerful attack; and not only engaged the lords of Piombino, Faenza, Pitigliano, and Bologna in his cause, but applied to the king of Naples for such assistance as he could afford. In his answer to this requisition, Ferdinand confesses his high obligations to Lorenzo, and after lamenting his inability to repay them in a manner adequate to their importance, promises to furnish a supply of ships against the Genoese, and to give such other aid as the embarrassed state of his affairs would permit (*b*). The command of the army, destined to the attack of Sarzana, was given to Jacopo Guicciardini, and Pietro Vittorio, who, having defeated a body of the Genoese that opposed their progress, began the siege of the place. The resistance which they met with was however more obstinate than might have been expected. Impatient of the delay, Lorenzo resolved to join the army, and endeavour by his presence to promote the exertions of the commanders, and excite the ardour of the soldiery. His exhortations, addressed personally to every rank and denomination, produced an instantaneous effect: a vigorous attack was made; and the citizens, perceiving no prospect of further succour from the Genoese,

(*a*) *Mac. lib.* 8. (*b*) *v. App. No.* XLVI.

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and early information of every circumstance that might affect the general tranquillity. By these men, he heard, he saw, he felt, every motion and every change of the political machine, and was often enabled to give it an impulse where it was supposed to be far beyond the limits of his power. In conducting a negotiation, all circumstances seemed to concur in rendering him successful; but these were not the effects of chance, but of deep and premeditated arrangement. Knowing the route he had to take, the obstacles that might have obstructed his progress were cautiously removed, before his opponents were apprized of his intentions. Hence, as one of the Florentine annalists expresses it (*a*), he became the balance point of the Italian potentates, whose affairs he kept in such just equilibrium as to prevent the preponderancy of any particular state. Surrounded as he was by ambitious despots, who knew no restraint except that of compulsion, or by restless communities constantly springing up with elastic vigour against the hand that pressed them; it was only by unwearied attention that he could curb the overbearing, relieve the oppressed, allay their mutual jealousy, and preserve them from perpetual contention. By inducing them to grasp at unsubstantial advantages, he placed in their hands real blessings; and

(*a*) "Era venuto Lorenzo in tanta riputazione e autorità appresso gli altri "principi d' Italia, &c. che tutti gli Scrittori di que' tempi, e le memorie an- "cora degli uomini, che vivono, e che sono vivuti a tempi nostri unitamente "s' accordano, che, mentre ch' egli visse fu sempre l' ago della bilancia intra' "principi predetti, che mantenne bilanciati gli stati loro, e di tal maniera gli "tenne uniti, e ciascuno di essi ristretti dentro a' termini de' loro confini, che "si potette dipoi, dopo la sua morte, vedere questa verità detta di sopra," &c.
Filip. de' Nerli, Commenr. di Fatti civili di Fir. lib. 3. *Ed. Ven.* 1728.

and by alarming them with imaginary terrors, averted their steps from impending destruction.

The king of Naples infringes his treaty with the pope.

We have already seen, that by the terms of the treaty between the pope and the king of Naples, Ferdinand was to pay an annual subsidy to the Roman see, and was also to grant an unconditional pardon to his refractory nobles. The latter of these conditions he immediately broke, and the other he only adhered to as long as he conceived that the pope was able to compel its performance. The cruelty and perfidy shewn by Ferdinand in his treatment of the Neapolitan nobility, fixes an indelible stain upon his character; but the operations of the moral world are not less certain than those of the natural, and the treachery of Ferdinand brought forth in due time its fruits of bitterness. It is true indeed, as Muratori well observes, "God does "not always repay in this world, nor are his judgments "laid open to us; but if we may on any occasion be "allowed to interpret them, it is when they seem to be "the retribution of cruelty. In fact, the calamities of "Ferdinand were not long postponed. The lapse of a "few years deprived him of life, and his posterity of "the kingdom of Naples. Surely, he can never be "worthy to rule over a people, who knows not how "to forgive (*a*)."

The refusal of Ferdinand to comply with his engagements, again roused the resentment of the pope, the inadequacy

(*a*) "Certo non sarà giammai degno di reggere popoli, chi non sa mai "perdonare." *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 556.

Peace again restored.

adequacy of whose temporal arms to enforce his pretensions, was supplied by the spiritual terrors of excommunication. On this occasion, the intervention of Lorenzo de' Medici again became necessary. A long negotiation ensued, in the progress of which he availed himself of every opportunity afforded him by the circumstances of the times, the temper of the parties, and his own credit and authority, to prevent the disagreement from proceeding to an open rupture. Of his letters written in the course of these transactions, some are yet preserved, which, whilst they display the refined policy and deep discernment of their author, demonstrate how assiduously he laboured to avert the calamities of war. "It appears to me," says he, writing to Lanfredini his confidential envoy at Rome, who was to lay these representations before the pope, "that his holiness "must propose to himself one of these three things; either "to compel the king by force to comply with his requisi- "tion; or to compromise matters with him on the most "advantageous terms that can be obtained; or, lastly, to "temporise till something better may be effected." He then enters into a full discussion of the difficulties and dangers that seem likely to attend the making an hostile attack on the kingdom of Naples. He lays before the pope the situation not only of the other states of Italy, but of Europe; and shews the indispensable necessity of entering into treaties for assistance, or neutrality, before he engages in so hazardous an attempt. Having thus endeavoured to deter the pope from adopting any violent and unadvised measures, he adverts to the probability of terminating their differences by negotiation; the opportunity for which, however, he thinks as yet crude and immature, and

as

as likely to be still further delayed by any severe or incautious proceedings. " With respect to temporising," says he, " this is undoubtedly the only course to be pursued, " because it is better beyond comparison to let matters remain in their present state, with reputation to his holiness, than to risk a war; especially as the king has it " in his power to do him essential injury." He concludes with a recapitulation of his former opinions. " If the " pope can accommodate matters with the king, consistently with his own honour, it seems to me that a " tolerable compromise is better than a successful war. " But as difficulties present themselves to an immediate " agreement, I would endeavour to protract the discussion as long as it might be done with safety and propriety; all that I have advanced is however upon the " idea, that the pope is not prepared to carry his point by " force, for if that were the case, the king would soon " submit; but I fear he is too well apprized how far he is " liable to be injured, and on this account will be more " obstinate (*a*)." By representations of this nature, founded on incontestable facts, and inforced by unanswerable arguments, Lorenzo at length so far mitigated the anger, or abated the confidence of the pope, as to dispose him to listen to propositions of accommodation; whilst, through the medium of his ambassador at Naples, he prevailed on the king to assent to the payment of the same subsidy which his predecessors had paid to the holy see. It is not easy to say to which of the contending parties the conduct of Lorenzo

(*a*) For this letter, *v. App. No.* XLVII.

Lorenzo was most acceptable; the pope omitted no subsequent opportunity of conferring on him and his family the most important favours; whilst Ferdinand unequivocally acknowledged, that to his friendship and fidelity, he and his family were indebted, not only for the rank they held, but even for their continuance in the kingdom of Naples (*a*).

Review of the government of Florence.

The external concerns of the republic being happily adjusted, and the tranquillity of Italy secured, Lorenzo applied himself to the regulation of the internal discipline of the Florentine state. The government of this city was founded on the broadest basis of democratic equality. By its fundamental principles, every person who contributed by his industry to the support or aggrandizement of the state, had a right to share in the direction of it; either by delegating his power to others, or in exercising a portion of the supreme control, under the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. Inactivity was the only circumstance that incapacitated him from the enjoyment of political rights. The Florentines, as early as the year 1282, had classed themselves into distinct bodies, or municipal companies, according to their various professions; and in order to place their government on a truly popular foundation, had determined, that

(*a*) Ferdinand thus addressed himself to Antonio della Valle, one of the agents of Lorenzo at Naples: "Lorenzo ha provato, che veramente ho amato "lui & quella città; ed io ho avuto a provare, che ha amato me, e i miei figliuoli, che senza lui, nè io nè loro saremmo in questo regno, il quale beneficio "noi nè i nostri discendenti mai si hanno a scordare." *Pet. Lutetii Ep. ad Laur. Fab.* v. ii. *p.* 369. These obligations are also warmly acknowledged by Ferdinand in a letter to Lorenzo himself. *v. App. No.* XLVIII.

that no person should be eligible to a public office, unless he were either actually, or professedly, a member of one or other of these companies. By this regulation, the nobility were either excluded from the offices of the state, or, in order to obtain them, were obliged to degrade the honours of their rank, by the humiliating appellation of artizan (*a*). From these associated bodies, a certain number of members were deputed to exercise the supreme government, in conjunction with an officer, whom we have frequently mentioned by the name of Gonfaloniere, whose authority was however subordinate to that of the delegated mechanics, or *Priori delle arti*, who continued in office only two months, and from three in number, had increased, at various intervals, to six, to eight, and lastly to ten (*b*). This

(*a*) Et sopra tutto parve, che si havesse havuto riguardo à fondar uno stato affatto popolare, non volendo che fussono ricevute al governo persone, che non fussero comprese sotto il nome, e insegna d' alcuna arte; eziandio che quelle arti non esercitassero, perciochè si come non stimavano cosa conveniente il levar in tutto il governo di mano de' nobili, così giudicavano esser necessario, che almeno col nome che prendevano, deponessero parte dell' alterigia che porgea loro quella boriosa voce della nobiltà. *Ammir. Ist. lib.* iii. *v.* i. *p.* 160.

(*b*) The jealous temper of the Florentines in providing for the security of their liberties, is exquisitely satirized by their first poet:

Or ti fa lieta, che tu hai ben onde,
Tu ricca, tu con pace, tu con senno;
S'i' dico 'l ver, l' effetto nol nasconde
Atene, e Lacedemona, che fenno
L' antiche leggi, e furon sì civili,
Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno
Verso di te, che fai tanto sottili
Provvedimenti, ch'a mezzo Novembre
Non giunge quel, che tu d' Ottobre fili.

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This institution had, in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, subsisted nearly two hundred years, during which the office of Gonfaloniere had been filled by a regular succession of twelve hundred citizens, who had preserved the dignity and independence of the republic, and secured to their countrymen the exercise of their rights. With this laudable jealousy of their own liberties, the Florentines did not, like the Romans, from whom they derived their origin, exert their power to destroy the liberties of others. They wisely repressed the dangerous desire of subjecting to their dominion surrounding states, nor aspired to the invidious honour of sparing the subservient, and overturning the proud; and, though a community of freemen, were content to be the first in those accomplishments, which the flatterer of Augustus affected to despise (*a*).

There is however reason to conjecture, that the Florentine government, although sufficiently vigorous for internal regulation,

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Quante volte del tempo, che rimembre
Legge, moneta, e uficio, e costume,
Ha' tu mutato, e rinnovato membre?
E se ben ti ricorda, e vedi lume,
Vedrai te simigliante a quell' infirma,
Che, non può trovar posa in sulle piume
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma.

Dante. Purg. Cant. vi.

(*a*) Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus,
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
(Hæ tibi erunt artes,) pacique imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

Æn. lib. vi.

regulation, was inadequate to the exertions of external warfare. The hand that may steer a vessel through the tranquil ocean, may be unable to direct the helm amidst the fury of the storm. It may indeed well be conceived, that the delegated magistrates, being so extremely limited, as well with respect to their number, as to the duration of their power, would reluctantly determine on, and cautiously engage in measures, which involved the welfare, and perhaps the existence of the community. Accordingly it appears, that on important occasions it was customary for the magistrates to assemble the most respectable citizens, from whose advice they might derive assistance, and by whose countenance they might secure themselves from censure. During the late dangerous contest, this measure had been frequently resorted to, and with such manifest advantage, that Lorenzo, after the restoration of the public tranquillity, recommended, and obtained the establishment of a body of seventy citizens, who, in the nature of a senate, were to deliberate and to decide on all the transactions of government, as well in the affairs of peace, as of war. This institution, for which he might have pleaded the example of the Spartan legislator, was probably intended, not only to give a greater degree of stability and energy to the government, but to counteract the democratic spirit, which was supposed to have risen to a dangerous excess (*a*), and to operate as a safeguard against

(*a*) "All free governments," says Hume, very decisively, "must consist "of two councils, a lesser and greater; or, in other words, of a senate and "people." "The people," as Harrington observes, "would want wisdom "without the senate; the senate, without the people, would want honesty." *Idea of a perfect Commonwealth.*

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against an abuse which was the destruction of all the free states of antiquity—the exercise of the powers of government, by the immediate interference of the citizens at large.

Prosperity of the Florentine state.

At this period, the city of Florence was at its highest degree of prosperity. The vigilance of Lorenzo had secured it from all apprehensions of external attack; and his acknowledged disinterestedness and moderation had almost extinguished that spirit of dissension for which it had been so long remarkable. The Florentines gloried in their illustrious citizen, and were gratified in numbering in their body, a man who wielded in his hands the fate of nations, and attracted the respect and admiration of all Europe. Though much inferior in population, extent of dominion, and military character, to several of the other states of Italy, Florence ſtood at this time in the first degree of respectability. The active spirit of its inhabitants, no longer engaged in hostile contentions, displayed itself in the pursuits of commerce, and the improvement of their manufactures. Equally enterprizing and acute, wherever there appeared a possibility of profit, or of fame, they were the first to avail themselves of it; and a Florentine adventurer, though with doubtful pretensions, has erected to himself a monument which the proudest conqueror might envy, and impressed his name upon a new world in characters that are now indelible (*a*). The silk and linen fabrics manufactured

1488.

(*a*) Amerigo Vespucci, who has contended with Columbus for the honour of the discovery of America, was born at Florence in the year 1451, of a respectable family, of which several individuals had enjoyed the chief offices of the republic. The name of Amerigo was at Florence a common name of

tured by the Florentines, were in a great degree wrought from their native productions; but their wool was imported from England and from Spain, whose inhabitants indolently resigned their natural advantages, and purchased again at an extravagant price their own commodities. In almoſt every part to which the Florentines extended their trade, they were favoured with peculiar privileges, which enabled them to avail themselves of the riches they had already acquired; and the superstitious prohibitions of the clergy against usury were of little avail against a traffic in which the rich found employment for their wealth, and the powerful relief in their necessities. The consequence of these industrious exertions was, a sudden increase of population in Florence; insomuch that Lorenzo was under the necessity of applying to the pope, for his permission to build in the gardens of the monasteries within the walls of the

baptism. For an account of the controversy that has taken place respecting the pretensions of these eminent navigators, I must refer to Dr. Robertson's History of America, *book* ii. *note* 22. without however approving the severity of his animadversions on the respectable Canonico Bandini, who has endeavoured, from original and almost contemporary documents, to support the claims of his countryman. *Band. vita di Amerigo Vesp. Flor.* 1745. However this may be, it is certain, that about the year 1507, Vespucci resided at Seville, with the title of master pilot, and with authority to examine all other pilots; for which he had a salary assigned him; an employment, as Tiraboschi well observes, suitable to a skilful navigator, but far below the pretensions of a man who had first discovered the new continent. This employment, however, afforded Vespucci an opportunity of rendering his name immortal. As he designed the charts for navigation, he uniformly denominated that continent by the name of AMERICA, which being adopted by other mariners and navigators, soon became general. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* 6. *par.* i. *p.* 192. The memory of Vespucci is therefore now secured by a memorial,

Quod non imber edax nec aquilo impotens,
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.

the city. By his attention, the police was also effectually reformed. A contemporary author assures us, that there was no part of Italy where the people were more regular in their conduct, or where atrocious crimes were less frequent (*a*). "We have here," says he, "no robberies, no "nocturnal commotions, no assassinations. By night or "by day every person may transact his concerns in perfect "safety. Spies and informers are here unknown. The "accusation of one is not suffered to affect the safety of the "many; for it is a maxim with Lorenzo, *that it is better* "*to confide in all than in a few.*" From the same authority we learn, that the due administration of justice engaged his constant attention, and that he carefully avoided giving rise to an idea, that he was himself above the control of the law. Where compulsory regulations lost their effect, the assiduity and example of Lorenzo produced the most salutary consequences, and banished that dissipation which enervates, and that indolence which palsies society. By forming institutions for the cultivation of the ancient languages, or the discussion of philosophical truths, by promoting the sciences, and encouraging the useful and ornamental arts, he stimulated talents into action, and excited an emulation which called forth all the powers of the mind. Even the public spectacles, intended for the gratification of the multitude, partook of the polished character of the inhabitants, and were conceived with ingenuity, and enlivened with wit. The prosperity and happiness which the citizens thus enjoyed were attributed to their true source, and Lorenzo

(*a*) *Philippus Redditus Exhort. ad Pet. Med. Laur. fil. inter opusc. Joan. Lamii. Delic. Erudit. Flor.* 1742.

Lorenzo received the best reward of his labours in the gratitude of his country.

High reputation of Lorenzo.

Beyond the limits of Tuscany, the character of this illustrious Florentine was more eminently conspicuous. The glory of the republic appeared at a distance to be concentered in himself. To him, individually, ambassadors were frequently dispatched by the first monarchs of Europe; who, as their concerns required, alternately courted his assistance or solicited his advice (*a*). In the year 1489, when the emperor Frederick III. sent an embassy to Rome, he directed them to pass through Florence to obtain the patronage of Lorenzo; being, as he said, convinced of his importance in directing the affairs of Italy. An interchange of kind offices subsisted between this eminent citizen and John II. king of Portugal, who was deservedly dignified with the appellation of great, and was desirous that the transactions of his life should be recorded by the pen of Politiano (*b*). From Matteo Corvino, whose virtues had raised him to the throne of Hungary, many letters addressed to Lorenzo are yet extant, which demonstrate not only the warm attachment of that monarch to the cause of science and the arts, but his esteem and veneration for the man

(*a*) C'étoit une chose aussi admirable qu' éloignée de nos mœurs, de voir ce citoyen, qui faisait toûjours le commerce, vendre d'une main les denrées du Levant, & soutenir de l'autre le fardeau de la republique; entretenir des facteurs, & recevoir des ambassadeurs; résister au pape, faire la guerre & la paix, être l' oracle des princes, cultiver les belles-lettres, donner des spectacles au peuple, & accueillir tous les scavans Grecs de Constantinople. Il égala le grand *Cosme* par ses bienfaits, & le surpassa par sa magnificence.

Volt. Essai, v. ii. *p.* 284.

(*a*) *Pol. Epist. lib.* x. *Ep.* 1, 2.

" his name great, and his authority important in the affairs " of Italy. Convinced of the perils that might arise, both " to the Florentine republic and to himself, if any of the " more powerful states should be allowed to extend their " dominions, he used every exertion that the affairs of " Italy might be so balanced, that there should be no in- " clination in favour of any particular state; a circum- " stance which could not take place without the permanent " establishment of peace, and the minutest attention to " every event, however trivial it might appear." Such are the representations of this celebrated historian. It is only to be regretted that these prosperous days were of such short duration. Like a momentary calm that precedes the ravages of the tempest, they were scarcely enjoyed before they were past. The fabric of the public happiness, erected by the vigilance, and preserved by the constant care of Lorenzo, remained indeed firm and compact during the short remainder of his days; but at his death it dissolved like the work of enchantment, and overwhelmed for a time in its ruins even the descendants of its founder.

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DIFFERENT progress of Italian and classical literature —Latin writings of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio— Effects produced by them—Emanuel Chrysoloras—Consequences of improvement—Progress of the Laurentian Library—Introduction of printing in Florence—Early editions of the classic authors—Politiano corrects the Pandects of Justinian—Miscellanea of Politiano—His controversy with Merula—Establishment of the Greek academy at Florence—Joannes Argyropylus—Demetrius Chalcondyles—English scholars at Florence—Political importance obtained by men of learning—Florentine secretaries—Bartolommeo Scala—His controversy with Politiano—Learned statesmen in other governments of Italy— Men of rank devote themselves to study—Pico of Mirandula—Learned women—Alessandra Scala—Cassandra Fidelis—Result of the attention shewn to classical learning— Translations—Italian writers of Latin poetry—Landino— Ugolino and Michael Verini—Other Latin poets of the fifteenth century—Character of the Latin poetry of Politiano—General idea of the state of literature in Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

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Different progress of Italian and classical literature.

OF the improvement that took place in the Italian language in the fourteenth century, of its rapid and unexpected decline in that which succeeded, and of its restoration under the auspices of Lorenzo de' Medici, some account has already been given; but in tracing the history of the revival and progress of the ancient languages, we shall find, that as they were influenced by other causes, they neither flourished nor declined with the study of the national tongue. On the contrary, a daily proficiency was made in classical literature, at the very time that the Italian language was again sinking into barbarism and neglect; and the former advanced, by a gradual but certain progress, towards that perfection which the latter suddenly

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and unexpectedly attained, from the causes to which we have before adverted.

Latin writings of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio.

In assigning the reason for this remarkable distinction, we must again recur to the times of Dante, of Petrarca, and of Boccaccio; and observe the effects produced by the exertions of those great men, whose talents throw a lustre over a period which would otherwise be involved in total darkness. In estimating their labours, we shall find that their various attempts to reduce into form their native language, and to revive the study of the ancient tongues, were not only attended with different degrees of success, but were followed by consequences precisely the reverse of those which might have been expected. With whatever justice Petrarca and Boccaccio might, in their own days, have boasted of their voluminous productions in the Latin tongue, the increasing applause bestowed on their Italian writings soon obscured their fame as Latin authors; and they are indebted for their present celebrity to works which they almost blushed to own, and were ashamed to communicate to each other (*a*). The different merits of their Latin and their Italian compositions were however soon appreciated;

(*a*) The Decamerone of Boccaccio was not communicated to Petrarca till many years after it was written (*Manni, Illust. del Boccaccio, p.* 629.); and Petrarca himself confesses, that the reception of his Italian writings was far more favourable than he expected.

S'io avessi pensato che si care,
Fossin le voci de' sospir miei in rima,
Fatte l' avrei dal sospirar mio prima,
In numero più spesse, in stil più rare.

Son. 253.

preciated; and whilst the latter were daily rising in the estimation of the world, the former lost a great share of their reputation before the close of the succeeding century. "It is not to be denied (*a*)," says a very judicious critic of that period, "that both Dante and Petrarca were warm "admirers of the ancients; but the Latin writings of "Dante, like a picture that has lost its colour, exhibit "little more than an outline. Happy indeed had it been, "had this author been enabled to convey his sentiments "in Latin, as advantageously as he has done in his na- "tive tongue. The numerous works of Petrarca, the "offspring of that solitude in which he delighted, are last- "ing monuments of his industry and his talents. Yet his "style is harsh, and scarcely bears the character of Latinity. "His writings are indeed full of thought, but defective in "expression, and display the marks of labour without the "polish of elegance; but as we sometimes take a potion, "not for the sake of gratification, but of health, so from "these writings we must expect to derive utility rather "than amusement. Rude as they are, they possess how- "ever some secret charm which renders them engaging. "The distinguished talents of Boccaccio sunk under the "pressure of the general malady. Licentious and inaccu- "rate in his diction, he has no idea of selection. All his "Latin writings are hasty, crude, and uninformed. He "labours with thought, and struggles to give it utterance; "but his sentiments find no adequate vehicle, and the "lustre of his native talents is obscured by the depraved "taste

(*a*) *Paulus Cortesius, De Hominibus doctis, p.* 7. *Ed. Flor.* 1734.

" taste of the times." Whilst such was the fate of the Latin productions of these authors, their Italian writings were the objects rather of adoration than applause. No longer confined to the perusal of the closet, and the gratification of an individual, the poems of Dante and of Petrarca were read in public assemblies of the inhabitants of Florence, and their beauties pointed out, or their obscurities illustrated, by the most eminent scholars of the time. No sooner was the art of printing discovered, than copies of them were multiplied with an avidity which demonstrates the high esteem in which they were held. Even the prolix annotations with which these early editions were generally accompanied, if they do not for the most part display the talents of the critic, are a proof of the celebrity of the author. This observation is not however applicable to the commentary of Dante by Landino, who, with a laudable perseverance, has preserved the remembrance of many historical facts, and related many circumstances indispensably necessary to the explanation of the *Divina Commedia*. His industry in the execution of a task so grateful to his countrymen, was rewarded by the donation of a villa, or residence, on the hill of Casentino, in the vicinity of Florence, which he enjoyed under the sanction of a public decree. Whilst the annotator was thus compensated, the exiled poet was, upwards of a century after his death, restored to his family honours, with the same formalities as if he had been still living; his descendants were permitted to enjoy the possessions of their illustrious ancestor, and his bust, crowned with laurels, was raised at the public expence.

Effect produced by them.

It might then have been expected, that the successful efforts of these authors to improve their native tongue, would have been more effectual than the weak, though laudable attempts made by them to revive the study of the ancient languages; but it must be remembered, that they were all of them men of genius, and genius assimilates not with the character of the age. Homer and Shakspeare have no imitators, and are no models. The example of such talents is perhaps upon the whole unfavourable to the general progress of improvement; and the superlative abilities of a few, have more than once damped the ardour of a nation (*a*). But if the great Italian authors were inimitable in the productions of their native language, in their Latin writings they appeared in a subordinate character. Of the labours of the ancients, enough had been discovered to mark the decided difference between their merits and those of their modern imitators; and the applauses bestowed upon the latter, were only in proportion to the degree in which they approached the models of ancient eloquence. This competition was therefore eagerly entered into; nor had the success of the first revivers of these studies deprived their followers of the hope of surpassing them (*b*). Even

(*a*) Dopo la morte di Cicerone e di Vergilio due chiarissimi specchi della lingua Latina, cominciò il modo dello scrivere Romanamente, così in versi come in prosa, a mutarsi & variare da se medesimo, e andò tanto di mano in mano peggiorando, che non era quasi più quel desso. Il medesimo nè più nè meno avvenne nella lingua fiorentina; perche spenti Dante, il Petrarca, e'l Boccaccio, cominciò a variare e mutarsi il modo e la guisa del favellare, e dello scrivere fiorentinamente, e tanta andò di male in peggio che quasi non si riconosceva più, &c. *Varchi L' Ercolano, vol.* i. *p.* 83. *Ed. Padova,* 1744.

(*b*) Difficilis in perfecto mora est; naturaliterque quod procedere non potest, recedit. Et, ut primo ad consequendos, quos priores ducimus, accendi-

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Even the early part of the fifteenth century produced scholars as much superior to Petrarca, and his coadjutors, as they were to the monkish compilers, and scholastic disputants, who immediately preceded them; and the labours of Leonardo Aretino, Gianozzo Manetti, Guarino Veronese, and Poggio Bracciolini, prepared the way for the still more correct and classical productions of Politiano, Sannazaro, Pontano, and Augurelli. The declining state of Italian literature, so far then from being inconsistent with, was rather a consequence of the proficiency made in other pursuits, which, whilst they were distinguished by a greater degree of celebrity, demanded a more continued attention, and an almost absolute devotion both of talents and of time.

Emanuel Chrysoloras.

Whatever may have been the opinion in more modern times, the Italian scholars of the fifteenth century did not attribute to the exertions of their own countrymen the restoration of ancient learning. That they had shewn a decided predilection for those studies, and had excited an ardent thirst of further knowledge, is universally allowed; but the source from which that thirst was allayed, was found in Emanuel Chrysoloras, who, after his return to his native country from his important embassies, was prevailed upon by the Florentines to pay a second visit to Italy, and to fix his residence among them. The obligations

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mur; ita ubi aut præteriri aut æquari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe senescit; et quod adsequi non potest, sequi desinit: præteritoque eo in quo eminere non possimus, aliquid in quo nitamur conquirimus.

Velleius Paterc. lib. i. *cap.* 17.

obligations due to Chrysoloras, are acknowledged in various parts of their works, by those who availed themselves of his instructions; and the gratitude of his immediate hearers was transfused into a new race of scholars, who by their eulogies on their literary patriarch, but much more by their own talents, contributed to honour his memory (*a*). On his arrival in Italy in the character of an instructor, he was accompanied by Demetrius Cydonius, another learned Greek. The ardour with which they were received by the Italian scholars, may be conjectured from a letter

(*a*) Chrysoloras died at Constance, when the council was held there in 1415. A volume, consisting of eulogies upon him, lately existed in the monastery at *Camaldoli*. (*Zeno. Diss. Voss. v.* i. *p.* 214.) Poggio and Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.) each of them honoured him with an epitaph. In the latter, the merit of having been the reviver of both Greek and Latin literature, is explicitly attributed to him.

> Ille ego, qui Latium priscas imitarier artes,
> Explosis docui sermonum ambagibus, et qui,
> Eloquium magni DEMOSTHENIS et CICERONIS
> In lucem retuli, CHRYSOLORAS nomine notus,
> Hic situs emoriens, peregrina sede, quiesco, &c.
>
> *Hod. de Græc. illust. p.* 24.

Janus Pannonius, a scholar of Guarino Veronese, (for whose history and unhappy fate, *v. Valerianus De infelicitate Literatorum,*) in an elegant Latin panegyric on his preceptor, also pays a tribute of respect to the Greek scholar:

> Vir fuit hic patrio CHRYSOLORAS nomine dictus,
> Candida Mercurio quem Calliopæa crearat,
> Nutrierat Pallas: nec solis ille parentum
> Clarus erat studiis, sed rerum protinus omnem
> Naturam, magna complexus mente tenebat.
>
> *Jani Pannonii Quinquecclesiensis Episc. Paneg. ad Guar. Ver. preceptorem suum ap. Frobenium. Basil.* 1518. *p.* 11.

letter of Coluccio Salutati to Demetrius, on his landing at Venice (*a*). "I rejoice not so much," says he, "in the "honour I receive from your notice, as for the interests of "literature. At a time when the study of the Greek lan- "guage is nearly loſt, and the minds of men are wholly "ingrossed by ambition, voluptuousness, or avarice, you "appear as the messengers of the Divinity, bearing the "torch of knowledge into the midst of our darkness. "Happy indeed shall I esteem myself, (if this life can "afford any happiness to a man to whom to-morrow will "bring the close of his sixty-fifth year,) if I should by your "assistance imbibe those principles, from which all the "knowledge which this country possesses is wholly de- "rived. Perhaps, even yet, the example of Cato may "stimulate me to devote to this study the little that re- "mains of life, and I may yet add to my other acquire- "ments, a knowledge of the Grecian tongue."

Consequences of improvement.

If we advert to the night of thick darkness in which the world had been long enveloped, we may easily conceive the sensations that took place in the minds of men when the gloom began to disperse, and the spectres of false science, by turns fantastic and terrific, gave way to the distinct and accurate forms of nature and of truth. The Greeks who visited Italy in the early part of the fifteenth century, if they did not diffuse a thorough knowledge of their language, and of those sciences which they

(*a*) *Mehus, in vitâ Amb. Trav. p.* 356. This early visitor has escaped the researches of Dr. Hody. *De Græc. Illust.*

they exclusively possessed, at least prepared a safe asylum for the muses and the arts, who had long trembled at the approach, and at length fled before the fierce aspect of Mahomet II. From that period a new order of things took place in Italy; the construction of language was investigated on philosophical principles; the maxims of sound criticism began to supplant the scholastic subtilties which had perverted for ages the powers of the human mind; and men descended from their fancied eminence among the regions of speculation and hypothesis, to tread the earth with a firm foot, and to gain the temple of fame by a legitimate, though laborious path.

Progress of the Laurentian Library.

The establishment of public libraries in different parts of Italy, whilst it was one of the first consequences of this striking predilection for the works of the ancients, became in its turn the active cause of further improvement. To no description of individuals is the world more indebted, than to those who have been instrumental in preserving the wisdom of past ages, for the use of those to come, and thereby giving, as it were, a general sensorium to the human race. In this respect great obligations are due to the venerable Cosmo (*a*). From the intercourse that in his time subsisted between Florence and Constantinople, and the long visits made by the Greek prelates and scholars to Italy, he had the best opportunity of obtaining the choicest treasures of ancient learning; and the destruction of Constantinople

(*a*) *Bandini, Lettera sopra i principj, &c. della Biblioteca Laurenziana. Fir.* 1773.

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stantinople may be said to have transferred to Italy all that remained of eastern science (*a*). After the death of Cosmo, his son Piero pursued with steady perseverence the same object, and made important additions to the various collections which Cosmo had begun, particularly to that of his own family (*b*). But although the ancestors of Lorenzo laid the foundation of the immense collection of manuscripts, since denominated the Laurentian Library, he may himself claim the honour of having raised the super-

(*a*) The library of S. Marco, which, as we have before related, was founded by Cosmo, with the books collected by Niccolo Niccoli, and augmented at his own expence, was, in the year 1454, almost buried in ruins by an earthquake, that continued at intervals for nearly forty days, during which several persons lost their lives. Cosmo however not only restored the building to its former state, but raised the ceiling, so as to admit of a more extensive collection. At the same time a new arrangement of the manuscripts took place, and the Greek and Oriental works were formed into a class distinct from the Latin.

Mehus in vitâ Amb. Trav. p. 66. 73.

(*b*) The manuscripts acquired by Piero de' Medici are for the most part highly ornamented with miniatures, gilding, and other decorations, and are distinguished by the *fleurs de lys*. Those collected by Lorenzo are marked not only with the Medicean arms, but with a laurel branch in allusion to his name, and the motto SEMPER. When we advert to the immense prices which were given for these works, and the labour afterwards employed on them, they may be considered as the most expensive articles of luxury. A taste for the exterior decoration of books has lately arisen in this country, in the gratification of which no small share of ingenuity has been displayed; but if we are to judge of the present predilection for learning by the degree of expence thus incurred, we must consider it as greatly inferior either to that of the Romans, during the times of the first emperors, or of the Italians in the fifteenth century. And yet it is perhaps difficult to discover, why a favourite book should not be as proper an object of elegant ornament, as the head of a cane, the hilt of a sword, or the latchet of a shoe.

superstructure. If there was any pursuit in which he engaged more ardently, and persevered more diligently than the rest, it was that of enlarging his collection of books and antiquities. " We need not wonder," says Niccolo Leoniceno, writing to Politiano (*a*), " at your eloquence " and your acquirements, when we consider the advantages " which you derive from the favour of Lorenzo de' Me- " dici, the great patron of learning in this age; whose " messengers are dispersed throughout every part of the " earth, for the purpose of collecting books on every " science, and who has spared no expence in procuring " for your use, and that of others who may devote them- " selves to similar studies, the materials necessary for your " purpose. I well remember the glorious expression of " Lorenzo, which you repeated to me, that he wished the " diligence of Pico and yourself, would afford him such " opportunities of purchasing books, that his fortune " proving insufficient, he might pledge even his furniture " to possess them." Acting under the influence of such impressions, we cannot wonder at the progress made by Lorenzo, in which he derived great assistance from Hieronymo Donato, Ermolao Barbaro, and Paolo Cortesi; but his principal coadjutor was Politiano, to whom he committed the care and arrangement of his collection, and who made excursions at intervals through Italy, to discover and purchase such remains of antiquity, as suited the purposes of his patron (*b*). Two journies, undertaken at the instance

(*a*) *Polit. Epist. lib.* ii. *Ep.* 7.

(*b*) Of the vigilance of Politiano in these pursuits, we have the most

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instance of Lorenzo, into the east, by Giovanni Lascar, produced a great number of rare and valuable works. On his return from his second expedition, he brought with him about two hundred copies, many of which he had procured from a monastery at Mount Athos; but this treasure did not arrive till after the death of Lorenzo, who in his last moments expressed to Politiano and Pico, his regret that he could not live to complete the collection which he was forming for their accommodation (*a*). Stimulated by the example of Lorenzo, other eminent patrons of learning engaged in the same pursuit. Those who particularly distinguished themselves were Matteo Corvino king of Hungary, and Federigo duke of Urbino (*b*), to both of whom Lorenzo gave permission to copy such of his manuscripts as they wished to possess; nothing being more consonant to his intentions than to diffuse the spirit of literature as extensively as possible.

Introduction of printing in Florence.

The newly discovered art of printing, contributed also in an eminent degree, to accelerate the progress of classical literature. This art was practised very early in Florence, and some of the Florentine authors have even been desirous

explicit evidence, in a letter from him to Lorenzo, first published by Fabroni, which may justify the forcible remark of that author on the literary agents of Lorenzo. "Porro ipsos venaticos canes dixisses, ita odorabantur omnia & "pervestigabant, ut ubi quidque rarum esset, aliqua ratione invenirent atque "compararent." *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. v.* i. *p.* 153, *App. No.* LI.

(*a*) Non nihil etiam tunc quoque jocatus nobiscum, quin utrosque intuens nos; Vellem ait distulisset me saltem mors hæc ad eum diem quo vestram plane bibliothecam absoluissem. *Pol. Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 2.

(*b*) *Pol. Ep. lib.* iii. *Ep.* 6: *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. v.* i. *p.* 154.

desirous of conferring on one of their countrymen, the merit of its invention (*a*); but this acute people have too many well-founded claims on the gratitude of posterity, to render it necessary for them to rely on doubtful commendation. It is however certain that whilst Venice solicited the assistance of Nicolas Jensen, a native of France, and Rome began to practise the art under the guidance of the two German printers, Sweynheym and Pannartz, Florence found amongst her own citizens, an artist equal to the task. Taking for his example the inscriptions on the ancient Roman seals (*b*), or more probably stimulated by the success of his contemporaries, Bernardo Cennini, a Florentine goldsmith, formed the *matrices* of his letters in steel; by means of which, with the assistance of his two sons, Domenico and Piero, he began in the year 1471 to print the works of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, which he published at Florence in the following year (*c*).

Lorenzo

(*a*) *Manni, della prima promulgazione de' Libri in Firenze. Fir.* 1761.

(*b*) *Ibid. p.* 3.

(*c*) At the close of the Bucolics in this edition, is the following inscription:

AD LECTOREM
Florentiæ VII. *Idus Novembres*
MCCCCLXXI.

Bernardus Cenninus Aurifex omnium judicio præstantissimus & Dominicus ejus F. egregiæ indolis adolescens: expressis ante calibe caracteribus, ac deinde fusis literis, volumen hoc prium impresserunt. Petrus Cenninus Bernardi ejusdem F. quanta potuit cura & diligentia emandavit, ut cernis. *Florentinis ingeniis nil arduum est.* And at the close of the volume is another inscription, with the date of October 1472.

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Early editions of the classic authors.

Lorenzo de' Medici saw the importance of a discovery, which had been wanting to the completion of the generous views of his ancestors, and availed himself of it with a degree of earnestness which sufficiently shews the motives by which he was actuated. At his instigation, several of the Italian scholars were induced to bestow their attention, in collating and correcting the manuscripts of the ancient authors, in order that they might be submitted to the press with the greatest possible accuracy. In the dialogues of Landino, published by him under the name of *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, to which we have had occasion to refer (*a*), that author has devoted his third and fourth books to a critical dissertation on the works of Virgil, particularly with a view of explaining such parts as are supposed to contain an allegorical sense; but he soon afterwards performed a much more grateful office to the admirers of the Roman poet, by correcting the errors with which his works abounded, and endeavouring to restore them to their original purity. In the proeme to this work, which he has inscribed to Piero de' Medici, the son of Lorenzo, he recapitulates the favours which the ancestors of his patron have bestowed on men of learning, and particularly recommends to his imitation, in this respect, the example of his father. He adverts to the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici, and attributes the preservation of Lorenzo at that critical juncture to his own courage and magnanimity (*b*).

Returning

(*a*) *Vol.* i. *p.* 103.

(*b*) Dabis, suavissime Petre, hoc in loco roganti mihi veniam, si barbaricam illam, & omnium sceleratissimam ac sine exemplo conjurationem silentio præterierim: qua in templo marmoreo inter sacra solemnia & Julianus frater

Returning to his immediate subject, he thus proceeds: "In my dialogues of Camaldoli, I have given a philosophical comment on the works of Virgil. I now mean "to perform the office of a grammarian and critic on this "author. In my former attempt, as the subject is of "more dignity, I have introduced your father as one of the "disputants; but these observations, which are intended "to inculcate a knowledge of the Latin language, I consider as more properly addressed to a young man of your "promising talents and cultivated understanding (*a*)." In the year 1482, Landino published also an edition of the works of Horace, with numerous corrections and remarks, which he inscribed to Guido da Feltri, the son of Federigo, duke of Urbino (*b*), to whom he had dedicated, in terms of the highest commendation and respect, his *Disputationes Camaldulenses*. Landino was one of the first scholars who, after the revival of letters, devoted himself to the important task of restoring and elucidating these favourite authors, and his labours were received with unbounded applause. Of his observations on Horace considerable use has been made by many subsequent editors. On their publication, Politiano accompanied

"sævissime trucidatus, et ipse Laurentius, inter strictos, et undique eum pe-"tentes gladios jam jam casurus, ita elapsus est, ut non humano, sed divino "auxilio, et sua animi præstantia, quæ audacissimum quemque terrere pote-"rat, de manu inimicorum ereptus videatur."

Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v. i. *p.* 223.

(*a*) *Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v.* i. *p.* 225.

(*b*) *Impressum per Antonium Miscominum, Florentiæ, anno Salutis* MCCCCLXXXII. *nonis Augusti.* These commentaries were republished at Venice, *per Joannem de Forlivio & Socios*, in the following year, and several subsequent editions have taken place.

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accompanied them with the following ode, not unworthy of the poet whose praises it is intended to celebrate (*a*):

AD HORATIUM FLACCUM.

Vates Threicio blandior Orpheo,
Seu malis fidibus sistere lubricos
Amnes, seu tremulo ducere pollice
Ipsis cum latebris feras;
Vates Aeolii pectinis arbiter,
Qui princeps Latiam sollicitas chelyn,
Nec segnis titulos addere noxiis
Nigro carmine frontibus;
Quis te a barbarica compede vindicat?
Quis frontis nebulam dispulit, et situ
Deterso, levibus restituit choris,
Curata juvenem cute?
O quam nuper eras nubilus, et malo
Obductus senio, quam nitidos ades
Nunc vultus referens, docta fragrantibus
Cinctus tempora floribus!
Talem purpureis reddere solibus
Laetum pube nova post gelidas nives
Serpentem, positis exuviis, solet
Verni temperies poli.
Talem te choreis reddidit et Lyrae,
LANDINUS, veterum laudibus æmulus,
Qualis tu solitus Tibur ad uvidum
Blandam tendere barbiton.

Nunc

(*a*) This ode is not printed in the works of Politiano, and is very inaccurately given by Bandini. *Spec. Lit. Flor.* It is here republished from the edition of Horace by Landino, *Ven.* MCCCCLXXXIII.

Nunc te deliciis, nunc decet & levi
Lascivire joco, nunc puerilibus
Insertum thyasis, aut fide garrula,
Inter ludere virgines.

Poet, than whom the bard of Thrace
Ne'er knew to touch a sweeter string;
O whether from their deep recess
The tenants of the wilds thou bring,
With all their shades; whether thy strain
Bid listening rivers cease to flow;
Whether with magic verse thou stain
A lasting blot on vice's brow;
Poet! who first the Latian lyre
To sweer Æolian numbers strung!
When late repressed thy native fire,
When late impervious glooms o'erhung
Thy front, O say what hand divine
Thy rude barbaric chains unbound,
And bade thee in new lustre shine,
Thy locks with vernal roses crown'd?
As when in spring's reviving gleam
The serpent quits his scaly slough,
Once more beneath the sunny beam,
In renovated youth to glow;
To thy lov'd lyre, and choral throng,
LANDINO thus their poet brings;
Such as thy TIBUR heard thy song,
Midst her cool shades and gushing springs.
Again with tales of whispered love,
With sprightly wit of happiest vein,
Through bands of vine-crown'd youths to rove,
Or sport amidst the virgin train.

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It is greatly to the credit of Politiano that these verses were addressed to the person who was his most formidable rival in those studies to which he had particularly devoted his talents. In restoring to their original purity the ancient authors, he was himself indefatigable; and if to the munificence of Lorenzo de' Medici we are to attribute the preservation of many of these works, Politiano is perhaps entitled to our equal acknowledgments for his elucidations and corrections of the text, which, from a variety of causes, was frequently unintelligible, illegible, or corrupt. In the exercise of his critical talents he did not confine himself to any precise method, but adopted such as he conceived best suited his purpose; on some occasions only comparing different copies, diligently marking the variations, rejecting spurious readings, and substituting the true. In other cases he proceeded further, and added Scholia and notes illustrative of the text, either from his own conjectures, or the authority of other authors (*a*). Besides the

(*a*) In the edition of Cato, Varro, and Columella, published at Paris, *ex off. Rob. Stephani*, 1543, with the corrections of Pet. Victorius, that excellent critic thus adverts to the labours of Politiano: "Non exemplar ipsum semper consului, sed habui excusos formis libros, quos cum antiquis illis *Angelus Politianus* studiose olim contulerat, eosque, quantum mihi commodum fuit, pertractavi; illi enim quoque publici sunt. Eruditissimi igitur viri labor, magno me labore levavit; qui quidem, ut erat diligens, & accuratus, hac librorum collatione mirifice delectabatur: & ita posse bonos auctores multis maculis purgari, vere existimabat. Quæcumque igitur in priscis exemplaribus inveniebat, in impressis sedulo adnotabat. Quod si diutius ille vixisset, et quæ mente destinaverat perficere potuisset, opera sedulitasque ipsius magnos studiosis litterarum fructus attulisset, moltosque qui postea huic muneri corrigendorum librorum necessario incubuerunt, magna prorsus molestia liberasset."

the advantages which he derived from various copies of the same work, which enabled him to collate them so as to ascertain the true reading, he obtained great assistance from the collection of antiques formed by Lorenzo and his ancestors; and amongst his coins, inscriptions on marble, and other authentic documents, frequently elucidated and determined what might otherwise have remained in darkness or in doubt (*a*). At the close of his remarks on Catullus, a memorial appears in his own hand-writing, in which he indulges himself in an exultation of youthful vanity, in the idea of having surpassed all his contemporaries in the diligence which he has shewn in correcting the ancient authors. This memorial, which bears the date of 1473, at which time he was only eighteen years of age, is subscribed *Angelus Bassus Politianus.* Before, however, we accuse our youthful critic of an ostentatious display of learning, or an improper confidence in his own abilities, we ought to advert to another entry made two years afterwards at the close of the works of Propertius in the same volume, by which he confesses, that many of his previous observations do not approve themselves to his riper judgment, and requests the reader not to form an opinion of his talents, his learning, or his industry, from such a specimen. There being many things

> Me quoque, qui scripsi, judice digna lini.

> Which I, their author, well might wish to blot (*b*).

In

(*a*) *Menck. in vitâ Pol. p.* 237.

(*b*) The reader may consult these memoranda in the Appendix, No. LII.

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In this subsequent entry he denominates himself *Angelus Potitianus*, which sufficiently marks the period when he chose to discontinue the appellation of *Bassus* (*a*); but what is of more importance, it serves to convince us, that with the errors of his judgment Politiano corrected also those of his temper, and that his proficiency in learning was accompanied by an equal improvement in modesty and candour. Among the ancient authors which he has thus illustrated are Ovid (*b*), Suetonius (*c*), Statius (*d*), The younger Pliny (*e*), The Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ (*f*), and Quintilian (*g*); some of which have been published with his emendations, while his valuable remarks on others are yet confined to the limits of the Italian libraries. The example of Politiano was followed by many other celebrated scholars, who regarded Lorenzo de' Medici as the patron of their studies, and inscribed their labours with his name. Thus Domitio Calderino undertook to regulate the text of Martial (*b*), Bartolommeo Fontio employed his talents on

(*a*) On this point, which has been so much contested, I find the opinion of Bandini before cited in this work, *v.* i. *p.* 141, is confirmed by that of Laur. Mehus, *Vita Amb. Traversarii*, *p.* 87.

(*b*) In the Bibliotheca Marciana.

(*c*) In the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* LXIV. *cod.* 1.

(*d*) In the Corsini Library at Rome.

(*e*) In the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* LXVII. *cod.* 7.

(*f*) Ib. *Plut.* XLIV. *cod.* 1.

(*g*) Ib. *Plut.* XLVI. *cod.* 5.

(*b*) Printed at Romé per Joannem Gensberg, 1474, *v. De Bure*, *No.* 2818.

on Persius (*a*), and Lancelotto on Columella (*b*). Nor were the Greek authors neglected. In the year 1488, Demetrius Chalcondyles and Demetrius Cretensis published at Florence the first edition of the works of Homer, which is inscribed to Piero de' Medici, the son of Lorenzo (*c*).

Politiano corrects the pandects of Justinian.

The system of jurisprudence which in the fifteenth century prevailed throughout the greatest part of Europe, was that of the Roman or civil law, which was principally founded on the pandects or constitutions of Justinian. Hence the correction and explication of the subsisting copies of this work became of high importance to the community. This task was reserved for the indefatigable industry of Politiano, whose labours in this department entitle him to rank not only with the earliest, but with the most learned modern professors of this science. In his letters he has himself given some account of his progress in this laborious work. Much additional information may be found in the narrative of his life by Menckenius; and Bandini, who has lately had the good fortune to recover the commentary of Politiano and restore it to its former station in the Laurentian Library, has published an historical narrative

(*a*) Published in 1481. *Band. Cat. Bibl. Laur. v.* ii. *p.* 679.

(*b*) *Band. Cat. v.* ii. *p.* 564. In the preface to this author, the editor thus addresses Lorenzo: "Ab ineunte etenim ætate, splendissima nominis "tui fama, ad tuam benevolentiam captandam ita me compulit, ut cunctis "potius honoris tui studiosum ostendere hoc ævo malim, quam in decorem "meum reticere."

(*c*) Florentiæ imp. *Typis Bernardi & Nerii Tanaidis Nerlii Florentinorum. Nono mensis Decembris Anno* 1488. 2 vol. fo. For an account of this magnificent work, *v. De Bure, No.* 2493.

tive expressly on this subject (*a*). In the accomplishment of this task, which he was induced to undertake at the instance of Lorenzo de' Medici, Politiano had singular advantages. An ancient and authentic copy found at Pisa, and supposed to have been deposited there by the orders of Justinian himself, had on the capture of that place been transferred to Florence (*b*), and was afterwards intrusted by Lorenzo de' Medici to the sole custody of Politiano (*c*). By this he was enabled to correct the numerous errors, and to supply the defects of the more recent manuscripts, as well as of two editions which had before issued from the press (*d*). The civilians of the ensuing century have freely confessed their obligations to a commentator who first

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(*a*) *Raggionamento Istorico sopra le collazioni delle Fiorentine Pandette, fatta da Angelo Poliziano, sotto gli auspcij del Mag. Lorenzo de' Medici, &c. Livorno* 1762.

(*b*) " Principio igitur scire te illud opinor, Imperatorem Justinianum " posteaquam jus civile perpurgavit, in ordinemque redegit, cavisse illud in " primis, ut in omnibus civitatibus quæ dignitate aliqua præcellerant, exem- " plaria legum quam emendatissima publice asservarentur—sed nullum ex his " clarius tamen aut celebratius, quam quod ad usque urbis ejus captivitatem, " Pisis, magna religione sit custoditum." *Pol. Ep. lib.* 10.

(*c*) " Hoc ergo mihi inspicere per otium licuit, rimarique omnia, & olfa- " cere, quæque vellem excerpere diligenter, & cum vulgatis exemplaribus " comparare. Tribuit nam hoc mihi uni *Laurentius ille Medices*, vir optimus " ac sapientissimus; fore illud aliquando arbitratus, ut opera labore indus- " triaque nostra, magna inde omnino utilitas eliceretur." *Ib.*

(*d*) Mr. Gibbon gives Politiano the appellation of an enthusiast, for supposing this manuscript to be the " authentic standard of Justinian himself." " This paradox," says he, " is refuted by the abbreviations of the Florentine " manuscript, and the Latin characters betray the hand of a Greek scribe." *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, lib.* 44. But Politiano had duly considered all the peculiarities of the manuscript, of which he was a

first with the true spirit of research, applied himself to the elucidation of a science in itself sufficiently complex and obscure, but which was rendered still more so, by the imperfect state of those authorities to which its professors were constantly obliged to refer.

Miscellanea of Politiano.

Of the critical talents of Politiano, and of the variety and extent of his erudition, his *Miscellanea* alone afford a sufficient testimony (*a*). For the publication of this work, which consists principally of observations on the writings of the ancient authors, we are also indebted to Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom Politiano was accustomed, as they rode out on horseback, to repeat the various remarks which had occurred to him in his morning studies (*b*). At the request

complete judge, and was fully of opinion that it was the production of a Latin scribe, and not of a Greek. "Est autem," says he in an epistle to Lod. Bolognese (lib. xi.), "liber characteribus majusculis, sine ullis compendiariis "notis, sine ullis distinctionibus; nec *Græcus*, sed *Latinus*—videlicet ille ipse "quem inter ceteros publicavit Justinianus." This work, which consists of two volumes, written on thin vellum, was deposited, says Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Brenckman (*Hist. Pandect. Florent. l.* i. *c.* x. xi. xli. *p.* 62. 93.), as a sacred relic in a rich casket, in the ancient palace of the republic, new bound in purple, and shewn to curious travellers by the monks and magistrates, bare headed and with lighted tapers.

(*a*) First printed by Antonio Miscomini at Florence, with the following singular colophon: *Impressit ex archetypo Antonius Miscominus. Familiares quidam Politiani recognovere. Politianus ipse nec Horthographiam se ait, nec omnino alienam præstare culpam.* FLORENTIÆ ANNO SALUTIS M.CCCC.LXXXIX. *Decimo tertio kalendas Octobris.* In 4°. This book, like all those I have seen of the same printer, is most elegantly and correctly executed, and is a proof of the speedy proficiency made in typography at Florence.

(*b*) *Pol. in præf. ad Miscel.*

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quest of Lorenzo, he was at length induced to commit them to paper, and to arrange them in order for the press. On their publication he inscribed them to his great friend and benefactor; not, as he assures him, merely for the purpose of testifying his gratitude, for the assistance and advice which he had in the course of his work received from him, but that it might obtain favour, and derive authority, from the celebrity of his name (*a*).

His controversy with Merula.

The publication of this work soon afterwards led Politiano into a controversy, in which he conducted himself with firmness and moderation, and which terminated greatly to his honour. Lodovico Sforza, anxious to throw a veil over the guilt of his usurpation by an attention to the promotion of letters, had prevailed upon Giorgio Merula, among other learned men, to establish his residence at Milan, where he enjoyed an ample pension from the duke. The character of Merula stood high for his acquirements in Latin literature (*b*); but neither his proficiency in learning,

(*a*) Nec erunt opinor hæc quoque nostra, quamquam levioris operis studia, seu ludicra verius, dedecori tibi Laurenti Medices, cui nunc adscribuntur. Adscribuntur autem non magis adeo ut me gratum beneficiis tuis approbent, aut reponant gratiam, quod auxiliarium te, quodque consiliarium habuerunt, quam ut auspicato procedant, et ut in iis tui memoria frequentetur, ex quo liber auctoritatem capiens magni celebritate nominis commendetur.

Pol. in præf. ad Miscell.

(*b*) To Merula we are indebted for the first edition of the comedies of Plautus, printed at Venice, *per Johannem de Colonia & Vindelinum de Spira*, 1472. He also corrected and commented on the works of Juvenal, of Martial, of Quintilian, of Ausonius, the *Scriptores de re rustica*, and other ancient authors; several of which have been published with his remarks. Merula was the disciple of Filelfo, and like him was frequently engaged in those acrimo-

learning, nor his intercourse with the great, nor even his advanced age, had softened or improved a disposition naturally jealous and austere. He had however singled out Politiano as the only person among the scholars of Italy who, in his opinion, possessed any share of merit, and upon an interview which they had together at Milan, had acknowledged, that the restoration of the language of the ancient Romans depended upon his exertions (*a*). No sooner, however, did the *Miscellanea* of Politiano make their appearance, than Merula availed himself of an opportunity of demonstrating his own superiority by depreciating the labours of his rival; asserting that such of the remarks of Politiano as were entitled to commendation, might be found in the critical works which he had himself previously published,

nious contests which perhaps promoted, whilst they disgraced, the cause of literature. One of these debates was with Galeotto Marzio, who, about the year 1468, wrote his treatise *De homine*, in the first book of which he describes the exterior, and in the second, the interior parts of man. This work Merula attacked with great bitterness, and with a considerable display of critical sagacity. The commentary of Merula was printed without date or place, and inscribed to Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici; but as the author in his dedication refers to the establishment of the academy at Pisa as a recent transaction, it was probably published about the year 1472. From this edition I shall give the dedication, as a striking memorial of the early reputation which these illustrious brothers had acquired as patrons of learning (*v. App. No.* LIII.). In the copy before me, the critique on Galeotto is followed by a comment on an epistle of Sappho, inscribed to M. Ant. Maurocenus, and by some observations on Virgil, addressed to Lodovico Gonzago, prince of Mantua. Some account of the life and labours of Merula may be found in *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. v.* vi. *part* 1. *p.* 291. *Zeno Diss. Voss. vol.* ii. *p.* 83.

(*a*) Meministi credo, quod in frequenti auditorio Venetiis, cum ad me accessisses, palam dixerim, te illum esse, quem priscæ & Romanæ doctrinæ instauratorem mihi pollicerer. *Mer. Ep. init. Ep. Pol. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 5.

lished, or were in the memory of his pupils who had attended his public instructions (*a*). He even insinuated that he had collected no inconsiderable number of gross errors, which he might probably make public on some future occasion. Politiano was soon apprized of this injurious treatment; and as he was not slow at resenting an indignity, it is probable that Merula would have experienced the weight of his resentment, had not other considerations interposed. Merula stood high in the opinion of his patron, whilst Politiano was known to live on terms of the closest intimacy with Lorenzo de' Medici. An open attack might therefore have compromised the name of Lorenzo, whose connexions with Lodovico were of too much importance to be endangered in a literary contest. Thus circumstanced, Politiano adopted a more discreet and serious method of bringing on a discussion. He addressed a letter to the duke, entreating that he would exert his authority with Merula, to induce him to publish his criticisms; at the same time transmitting for his perusal a letter to Merula of similar import (*b*). Merula however refused either to retract the opinions which he had avowed, or to communicate to Politiano his remarks. In answer to a sarcasm, which Politiano might well have spared, he replies, "You reproach me with my grey "locks—I feel not their effects. I yet possess vigour of "mind and strength of body; celerity of thought and "tenacity of memory; of these let Politiano beware (*c*)."

Several

(*a*) *Merulæ Ep. inter Ep. Pol. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 5.

(*b*) *Pol. Epist. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 1, 2.

(*c*) *Merulæ Ep. inter Ep. Pol. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 5.

Several letters on this subject appear in the epistles of Politiano, and the contest was rising to an extreme of violence, when Merula suddenly died. This event gave Politiano real concern, not only on account of the loss of a man, of whose talents he entertained a high opinion, but as tending to deprive him still more effectually of the opportunity of defending his work (*a*). Anxious however that nothing might be omitted which was necessary to the vindication of his character, he again addressed himself to the duke, with earnest entreaties to transmit to him the criticisms of Merula; but to no purpose. This formidable composition, if indeed it ever existed, was reduced to a few loose and unimportant observations. The letters of Lodovico, which are remarkable for their kindness and attention to Politiano, seem however at length to have satisfied his restless apprehensions. "You can have no "reason, Angelo," says the duke, "to fear any injury "to your reputation from the suppression of the remarks "of Merula, as this cannot be attributed to you, who, so "far from wishing to conceal them, have used your utmost "endeavours with us to lay them before the public; of "which the present letter may serve as a testimony (*b*)."

Establishment of the Greek academy at Florence.

The institution of public seminaries for promoting the knowledge of the ancient languages, the respect paid to those who undertook the task of instruction, and the ample

(*a*) *Pol. Epist. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 11.

(*b*) *Ibid. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 21.

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ample compensation they derived, not only from the liberality of individuals, but from the public at large, powerfully co-operated with the causes before mentioned in infusing a just taste for classical literature. Of the establishment of the academy at Pisa, by the exertions of Lorenzo de' Medici, a brief account has before been given (*a*); but his attention to the cause of learning was by no means confined to this institution. The studies at Pisa were chiefly restricted to the Latin language, or to those sciences of which it was the principal vehicle; but it was at Florence only that the Greek tongue was inculcated under the sanction of a public institution, either by native Greeks, or learned Italians who were their powerful competitors, whose services were procured by the diligence of Lorenzo de' Medici, and repaid by his bounty (*b*). Hence succeeding scholars have been profuse of their acknowledgments to their great patron, who first formed that establishment, from which (to use their own scholastic figure) as from the Trojan horse, so many illustrious champions have sprung, and by

(*a*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 151.

(*b*) Ille animadvertens jam tum litteras circa exitum laborare, Pisis Scholas litterarum Latinarum, Florentiæ Græcarum instituit; viros doctissimos aere suo ac magno undecumque accersiit, studiosos et fovit, & juvit, nec prius in hoc elaborare destitit, quam ita restitueret, ut non facile iterum ad id precipitium pervenire possent.

Caii Silvani Germanici Ep. ad Leonem X. *v. Band. Cat. v.* ii. *p.* 117.

Florentiam quoque & Latinis & Græcis litteris clarissime insignivit, exquisitis atque ingentibus etiam præmiis allectis utriusque facultatis viris omnium judicio peritissimis.

Raph. Brandolini Ep. ad Leonem X. *v. Band. v.* ii. *p.* 371. *Plut.* xlvi. *Cod.* 2.

by means of which the knowlegde of the Greek tongue was extended, not only through all Italy, but through France, Spain, Germany, and England, from all which countries numerous pupils attended at Florence, who diffused the learning they had there acquired throughout the rest of Europe (*a*).

Johannes Argyropylus.

Of this institution the first public professor was the eminent Johannes Argyropylus, who, after having enjoyed for several years the favour and protection of Cosmo and Piero de' Medici, and having had a principal share in the education of Lorenzo, was selected by him as the person best qualified to give instructions on the Greek tongue. Of the disciples of Argyropylus, Politiano, if not the most diligent, was the most successful. With the precepts which he imbibed, he acquired a predilection for the source from whence they flowed; and his writings discover numerous instances of his affection and veneration for the man who first opened to him the treasures of Grecian literature. To the unlimited applause bestowed by the scholar on the master, one exception only occurs. Argyropylus had professed an open hostility to the reputation of Cicero, whom he representd as a sciolist in the Greek tongue, and as unacquainted with the tenets of the different sects

(*a*) Quo sane tempore Florentiæ, veluti in celeberrimo totius orbis theatro, eruditissimi viri, tanquam ex equo Trojano innumerabiles proceres, sese in orbem terrarum effuderunt. Quamobrem non modo Italia, sed etiam Gallia, Hispania, Germania, et Britannia hujusmodi beneficium Medicum familiæ acceptum referunt. *Petri Angelii Epist. ap. Band. Cat.* ii. 397.

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sects of philosophy, to which so many of his writings relate. The acuteness of Argyropylus, and the influence of his authority, degraded in the estimation of his pupils the character of the Roman orator; and Politiano, in his riper years, seems to shudder at the recollection of the time when the ignorance of Tully was a matter taken for granted by him and his fellow-students (*a*). During the long residence of Argyropylus in Italy, he had acquired an extensive knowledge of the Latin language—a species of praise to which few of his countrymen are entitled. His translations into Latin of various tracts of Aristotle, are, for the most part, inscribed to his successive patrons of the family of the Medici, in language expressive of his respect and gratitude (*b*). Among his auditors we find Donato Acciajuoli, Janus Pannonius, and the German prelate Johannes Reuchlinus, who having had the singular good fortune to obtain some previous knowledge of the Greek tongue, displayed, it is said, on his first interview with Argyropylus, such an acquaintance with it, as induced the Greek to exclaim with a sigh, "*Alas, Greece is already banished beyond* "*the Alps* (*c*)."

To

(*a*) Et ut homo erat omnium (ut tum quidem videbatur) acerrimus in disputando, atque aurem (quod ait Persius) mordaci lotus aceto, præterea verborum quoque nostrorum funditator maximus, facile id vel nobis vel ceteris, tum quidem suis sectatoribus persuaserat: ita ut, (quod pene dictu quoque nefas) pro concesso inter nos haberetur, nec philosophiam scisse M. Tullium, nec litteras Græcas. *Pol. in Miscel. cap.* 1.

(*b*) *Baud. Cat. Bibl. Laur.* v. iii. *p.* 3, 4, 234, 242, 359, *&c.*

(*c*) *Hodius de Græc. illust. p.* 201.

To the industry of Argyropylus, and the excellence of his precepts, his disciple Acciajuoli has borne ample testimony; affirming, that whilst he inculcated his doctrines, the times of the ancient philosophers seemed to be again renewed (*a*). If however we may give credit to the testimony of Paulus Jovius, the precepts and the practice of Argyropylus were not entirely consistent with each other; and the obesity of his figure, which was supported by an immoderate supply of food and wine, seemed to mark him out as belonging to a different sect of philosophers (*b*). But the bishop of Nocera had too many passions to gratify, to permit him to perform the part of a faithful historian, and there are few of his characters that are not discoloured or distorted by the medium through which they are seen. The same author attributes the death of Argyropylus to the intemperate use of melons, which brought on an autumnal fever, that put a period to his life in the seventieth year of his age. This event took place at Rome, where he had fixed his residence some time previous to the year 1471 (*c*).

After

(*a*) Cum post interitum quorundam doctissimorum hominum, studia Florentina magna ex parte remissa viderentur, venit in hanc urbem Argyropylus Byzantius, vir ingenio præstans summusque philosophus, ut juventutem litteris græcis ac bonis artibus erudiret: jamque plures annos doctrinam tradidit nobis tanta copia, tam multiplicibus variisque sermonibus, ut visus sit temporibus nostris veterum philosophorum memoriam renovare.

Acciaiol. ap. Hod. de Græcis, 202.

(*b*) Vini et cibi æque avidus et capax, et multo abdomine ventricosus, immodico melopeponum esu autumnalem accersivit febrem, atque ita septuagesimo ætatis anno ereptus est. *Jovii Elog.* XXVII.

(*c*) *Hodius de Græc. illust. p.* 198. where the author has given a translation of the Greek epigram of Politiano, expressing his earnest wishes for the return of Argyropylus to Florence.

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Demetrius Chalcondyles.

After an interval of a few years, during which there is reason to believe that the office of public Greek professor at Florence was filled by Theodorus Gaza, and not by Politiano, as asserted by Jovius, the loss of Argyropylus was supplied by Demetrius Chalcondyles, who was invited by Lorenzo de' Medici to take upon himself that employment about the year 1479 (*a*). It is generally understood that an enmity subsisted between Politiano and Chalcondyles, in consequence of which the latter was eventually under the necessity of quitting Florence, whence he retired to Milan; but for this opinion the only authority is that of Jovius, and of those who have implicitly confided in his relation (*b*). This author, always hostile to the character of Politiano, would induce us to believe, that the Italian scholar, actuated by his jealousy of the Greek, and availing himself of his superior wit and eloquence, endeavoured

(*a*) Demetrius Chalcondyles, diligens grammaticus, & supra græcorum mores, cum nihil in eo fallaciarum aut fuci notaretur, vir utique lenis et probus, scholam Florentiæ instauravit, desertam ab Argyropylo, et a Politiano, deficientibus græcis occupatam. *Jov. Elog.* xxix. This information, if not refuted, is rendered highly problematical by the Greek epigram written by Politiano to Chalcondyles, on his arrival at Florence, in which he considers him as the successor of Gaza, and as supplying the maternal office of nourishing the unfledged offspring of literature, deserted by their former parent. A mode of expression not likely to be used by Politiano to a man who was to supersede him in his office of public instructor. A translation of this epigram is given by Hody, *p.* 211.

(*b*) Boissard, Baillet, Varillas, &c. The dissensions between Politiano and Chalcondyles have also engaged much of the attention of Menckenius, *Ang. Pol. vita, p.* 65. and of Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Politien*, who have doubted of the veracity of the narrative of Jovius, without adducing that evidence of its improbability which a more minute examination would have supplied.

deavoured to injure Chalcondyles by drawing off his pupils, and engaging them in his own auditory; and that Lorenzo de' Medici, as well in order to remove the causes of their contention, as to avail himself of their mutual emulation, divided between them the task of educating his children. It may however be observed, that no traces of this dissension are to be found in the narrative of any contemporary author; and that although the known irascibility of Politiano, and his acknowledged animosity to the Greeks, may seem to strengthen the credit of Jovius, yet these circumstances become, on further consideration, the most decisive evidence of his want of authenticity. The antipathies of Politiano were never concealed; and his letters, which extend nearly to the time of his death, contain many instances of that vehemence with which he attacked all those who he conceived had given him just cause of offence; but of any dissensions with Chalcondyles, no memorial is to be found. On the contrary, Chalcondyles is frequently noticed, both by the Italian scholar and his correspondents, as living with him in habits of intimacy (*a*). The rest of the information derived from Jovius is equally futile. The uninterrupted affection that subsisted between Lorenzo and Politiano, would have prevented the former from

(*a*) In the year 1491, being only the year previous to the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Pomponius Lætus writes to Politiano, "Commenda me "Medicibus patri et liberis literarum patronis. Deinde plurima salute De"metrium impertias." To which Politiano replies, "Medices nostri unice "tibi favent. Demetrius autem salutem sibi à te dictam totidem verbis re"muneratur. In Fesulano sexto idus Augusti. MCCCCXCI."
Pol. Ep. lib. i. *Ep.* 17, 18.

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from adopting a measure which the latter could only have considered as an impeachment of his talents; but independent of inferences drawn from this source, we have positive evidence, that however the children of Lorenzo might attend the incidental instructions of others, Politiano had the constant superintendence of their education, and was addressed on all occasions as the sole person honoured with that important trust (*a*).

English scholars at Florence.

From the Florentine institution, it is not difficult to discover the progress of Grecian literature to the rest of Europe; but the traces of the channels by which it was conveyed are in no instance more conspicuous than in those which communicated with this country. William Grocin (*b*), who was for some years professor of Greek literature in the university of Oxford, had made a journey to Italy, and had resided for the space of two years at Florence, where he attended the instructions of Chalcondyles and of Politiano. Thomas Linacer (*c*), whose name deservedly holds the first rank among the early English scholars, availed

(*a*) Thus Lod. Odaxius ad Pol. "Demetrium vero virum eruditissimum, "Petrumque in primis *discipulum tuum*, elegantissimæ atque amplissimæ spei "adolescentem, nomine meo salvos facito." *Pol. Ep. lib.* iii. *Ep.* 3.

(*b*) Nam et Grocinum memini, virum ut scis multifaria doctrina magno quoque & exercitato ingenio, his ipsis litteris duos continuos annos, etiam post prima illa rudimenta, solidam operam dedisse; idque sub summis doctoribus Demetrio Chalcondyla & Angelo Politiano.

Guil. Latimer. in Ep. ad Erasm. ap. Menck. in vitâ Polit.

(*c*) Linacrum item acri ingenio virum, totidem aut etiam plures annos sub iisdem præceptoribus impendisse. *Ibid.*

availed himself of a similar opportunity; and, during his abode at Florence, was so eminently distinguished by the elegance of his manners and his singular modesty, that he is said to have been selected by Lorenzo de' Medici as the associate of his children in their studies (*a*).

Political importance obtained by men of learning.

Such were the causes that in the fifteenth century concurred to promote the study of the ancient languages in Italy; but one circumstance yet remains to be noticed, which was perhaps more efficacious than any other in giving life and energy to these pursuits. An acquaintance with the learned languages was, at this period, the most direct path, not only to riches and literary fame, but to political eminence; and the most accomplished scholars were, in almost every government of Italy, the first ministers of the time. This arose in a great degree from the very general use of the Latin tongue, in the negotiations of different states, which rendered it almost impossible for any person to undertake the management of public affairs, without an habitual acquaintance with that language; but this was more particularly exemplified in Florence, where the most permanent officers were uniformly selected on account of their learning. During a long course of years the place of secretary, or chancellor of the republic, (for these terms seem to have been indiscriminately used,) was filled by scholars of the first distinction. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was held by Coluccio Salutati, who had been the intimate friend of Petrarca and

(*a*) *Jovii Elog.* lxiii.

Florentine secretaries.

and of Boccaccio, and is denominated by Poggio, "*The "common father and instructor of all the learned* (*a*)." He was succeeded by Leonardo Aretino, whose services to the republic were repaid by many privileges and favours conferred on himself and his descendants (*b*). After the death of Leonardo, this office was given to Carlo Marsuppini (*c*), and was afterwards successively held by Poggio Bracciolini (*d*), and Benedetto Accolti (*e*). During a great part of the time that the affairs of Florence were directed by Lorenzo de' Medici, the chancellor of the republic was Bartolomeo Scala, whose life affords the best example of the honours and emoluments which were derived from the cultivation of literature. Scala deduced his origin from parents of the lowest rank, nor did he possess from his birth even the privileges of a Florentine citizen (*f*). An early proficiency in letters recommended him to the notice of Cosmo de' Medici; and it

(*a*) *v. ante, p.* 58. Salutati died about the year 1410.

(*b*) *v. ante, v.* I. *p.* 21.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid. p.* 25.

(*e*) *Ibid. p.* 90.

(*f*) E lo Scala, figliuol d' un mulinaro,
Ovver d' un tessitor di panni lini,
Che colle sue virtù si fece chiaro,
E fu Gonfalonier de' Fiorentini,
Cavalier a Spron d' oro, e non avaro,
Tanto è, voi m' intendete cittadini,
Non s' ha questi a chiamar nobile e degno,
Che acquistò roba, onor, virtute, e ingegno?
L'Altissimo, in Bart. Scalæ vita a Mannio. Flor. 1768.

it was the pride of Scala to avow the meanness of his birth, and the obligations which he owed to his earliest patron (*a*). The loss of Cosmo was amply compensated to Scala by the favour of his descendants, through whose assistance he gradually rose to honours and to affluence, and in the year 1472 was intrusted with the seal of the republic. In imitation of his predecessors in this office, Scala began a history of Florence, of which he lived to complete only four books (*b*). His apologues are highly commended by Landino and Ficino. Of his poetry, specimens remain both in the Latin and Italian languages, and the former have obtained a place in the celebrated collection of the Latin poems of his illustrious countrymen (*c*). Considering the proverbial uncertainty of public favour, the life of Scala may be esteemed a life of unusual prosperity. He transacted the concerns of the republic with acknowledged fidelity, industry, and ability; arrived at the highest dignities of the state; amassed wealth; ranked with men of learning; and left at his death a numerous progeny to inherit his riches and his respectability. In his controversy with Politiano, he appears however as a scholar to manifest disadvantage; but the impetuosity of his adversary hurried him into

(*a*) Veni nudus omnium rerum bonarum, egenus ad Remp. vilissimis ortus parentibus, multa cum fide, nullis omnino divitiis, aut titulis, nullis clientelis, nullis cognationibus. Cosmus tamén Pater patriæ nostræ me complexus est, recepitque in familiæ obsequia, &c. *Scalæ Ep. inter. Pol. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 16.

(*b*) Hos edere Joannes Cinellius paraverat, sed id contigit Oligero Jacobæi, ope Cl. Magliabechii, sumptibus Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, anno MDCLXXVIII. *Manni. vita Bart. Scalæ, p.* 47.

(*c*) *Carm. illust. Post. Ital. v.* viii. *p.* 489.

into a contest which it is evident he would willingly have avoided, and in which every effort to extricate himself only brought down a severer chastisement.

His controversy with Politiano.

From the epistles of Politiano it appears, that for some time these angry disputants had shared the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici without discovering any symptoms of jealousy; and had even been in the habit of submitting to each other their literary works for mutual correction. Scala, however, having discovered, or suspected, that Lorenzo had employed Politiano to revise the letters which he had written in the execution of his office, as chancellor of the republic, began to entertain a secret enmity against his rival, and omitted no opportuninity of depreciating his writings (*a*). Politiano was no sooner aware that his literary reputation was attacked, than he gave a loose to feelings which it is probable he had before with difficulty suppressed; and notwithstanding the rank and respectability of Scala, addressed him in a style that shews the high opinion which he entertained of his own talents, and his contempt of those of his adversary. Alluding in one of his letters to the parentage of Scala, he gives him the appellation of *monstrum furfuraceum*. In another, he honours him with a comment on this title (*b*). To the boasting

(*a*) Scis autem tu quoque literas illum (Laurentium) sæpe tuas publice scriptas rejecisse, nobisque dedisse formandas, quæ prima odii livorisque in me tui causa extitit. *Pol. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 18.

(*b*) At ego *monstrum* te vocavi *furfuraceum*; monstrum quidem, quod ex colluvione monstrorum compositus es, furfuraceum vero quod in pistrini sordibus natus, & quidem pistrino dignissimus. *Ibid.*

boasting of Scala, respecting the approbation expressed of him by Lorenzo, he returns an answer which in these days (whether more polished or more barbarous, the reader may determine) could only have been expiated in the blood of one of the disputants (*a*). In this transaction it must be allowed that Politiano suffered himself to be carried beyond all reasonable bounds, and forgot that respect which he owed, if not to the character of his opponent, at least to his own dignity and reputation. It may perhaps be thought that Lorenzo de' Medici ought to have interposed his authority to suppress a contest which contributed so little to the credit of the parties, but it was not till after the death of Lorenzo that the dispute became so outrageous. It must be observed that Menckenius, the historian of Politiano, has on this occasion attributed to the expressions of Scala, an import which it is certain they were not intended to convey (*b*).

If

(*a*) "Extat," thus Scala writes to Politiano, "& illa de me Laurentii Me-
"dicis præclarissima vox, qua nusquam collocatum melius fuisse honorem
"homini novo testificatus est." *Lib.* xii. *Ep.* 16. To which Politiano laconically replies, "De Cosmo quæ jactas, deque Laurentio Medice, *falsa omnia*."
Ibid. Ep. 18.

(*b* In the early part of the quarrel, Scala has the following passage, in a letter to Politiano: "Tu certe præter ceteros, mi Politiane, naturæ multum
"debes, illa tibi ingenium istud dedit: ut corporis modo prætermittam dotes,
"quæ nonnihil & ipsæ habere a quibusdam putantur momenti ad felicitatem &
"fortunæ commoda: quæ profecto juvare nativam virtutem, nisi ipsa sese de-
"serat, vehementer solent. Cæcus sit funditus qui hæc non viderit." "Si
"quid video (say Menckenius) sunt et hæc per ludibrium forsan et per invi-
"diam a Scala dicta, ut obscœnos Politiani mores perstingeret, quasi is
"nempe corporis sui copiam principi juventuti fecerit, semper ita amantes
"studiososque sui Medicæos habiturus. Ut adeo mirari vix satis possim, non

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Learned statesmen in other governments of Italy.

If the circumstances before related were not sufficiently characteristic of the spirit of the times, we might advert to the other governments of Italy; where we should find, that offices of the highest trust and confidence were often filled by men who quitted the superintendence of an academy, or the chair of a professor, to transact the affairs of a nation. Alfonso, king of Naples, and Francesco Sforza, contended in liberality with each other, to secure the service of Beccatelli (*a*). Pontano was the confidential adviser, and frequently the representative to other powers, of Ferdinand, the son of Alfonso (*b*). The brothers of the family of Simoneta directed for a considerable time the affairs

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" sensisse hos aculeos nec his quidquam reposuisse Politianum, &c." In supposing he could see so much clearer into the concerns of Politiano than Politiano himself, Menckenius is mistaken; it certainly never came into the head of either of the disputants, that this passage contained any insinuation of the nature alluded to by Menckenius. Giuliano de' Medici had been dead many years, nor had he in his lifetime given room for such an imputation; and at all events there is no probability that Scala would have hazarded the most remoté insinuation of this kind, against a family on whose favour he existed, to say nothing of the inattention with which Politiano treats this passage, which he certainly considered only as a piece of ridicule on his *wry neck* and *hooked nose*, and as such thought it below his attention.

(*a*) *Zeno, Diss. Voss. v.* i. *p.* 309. *et vide ante, v.* I. *p.* 51.

(*b*) Giovanni Pontano, or according to the academical appellation which he adopted, Jovianus Pontanus, was a native of Cerreto, in Umbria, but when young and friendless took up his residence at Naples. His learning recommended him to Alfonso, and afterwards to Ferdinando; by whom he was intrusted with the highest offices of the state. Besides his undertaking many important embassies, Pontano was chief secretary to the king, and on one occasion his representative as viceroy of Naples. As a scholar he was the only person of the age whose productions can contend for superiority with those of Politiano. His poems were published by Aldus in two volumes, 1513, 1518. His prose works in three volumes, 1518, 1519. Among the latter, is

affairs of Milan (*a*). Bernardo, Bembo, and Francesco Barbaro, mantained the literary, no less than the political dignity of the Venetian Republic, and left each of them a son who eclipsed the reputation of his father (*b*). When eminent talents were not engaged in public services, they were rewarded by the most flattering attention, and often by the pecuniary bounty of illustrious individuals, who relaxed from the fastidiousness of rank, in the company of men of learning, or have left memorials of their regard by their epistolary correspondence.

Men of rank devote themselves to study.

Nor was it seldom that the characters of the scholar, and of the man of rank, were united in the same person. Of this Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, to whom we have before frequently adverted, is perhaps the most illustrious instance. This accomplished nobleman, of whom many extraordinary circumstances are related, and who certainly exhibited a wonderful example of the powers of the human

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a treatise *De Ingratitudine*, in which he assumes the merit of having been instrumental in concluding peace between Ferdinand and the pope, and gives a loose to his exultation in having rendered his king so important a service; but alas, Pontano lived to give the fullest comment on his treatise in his own conduct. For although he enjoyed the favour of the family of Arragon for nearly half a century, yet when Charles VIII. of France, in the year 1495, seized upon the kingdom of Naples, and assumed the emblems of royalty, Pontano, in the name of the Neapolitans, made the public oration to him, and took care not to forget the defects of his royal patrons, with which he had the best opportunities of being acquainted. *Zeno, Diss. Voss. v.* ii. *p.* 172. *Guicciard. Ist. d' Italia, lib.* ii. Pontano died in 1603, at the age of 77 years.

(*a*) *vide ante, v.* I. *p.* 175.

(*b*) Ermolao Barbaro, patriarch of Aquileia, and the cardinal Pietro Bembo, both of whom will again occur to our notice in the course of the work.

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Pico of Mirandula.

man mind, was born at Mirandula in the year 1463, and was one of the younger children of Giovan-Francesco Pico, prince of Mirandula and Concordia (*a*). So quick was his apprehension, so retentive his memory, that we are told a single recital was sufficient to fix in his mind whatever became the object of his attention. After having spent seven years in the most celebrated universities of Italy and France, he arrived at Rome in the twenty-first year of his age, with the reputation of being acquainted with twenty-two different languages (*b*). Eager to signalize himself as a disputant, Pico proposed for public debate nine hundred questions, on mathematical, theological, and scholastic subjects, including also inquiries into the most abstruse points of the Hebraic, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues (*c*). This measure, which in its worst

(*a*) Voltaire, who erroneously gives Pico the name of Jean-François, is also mistaken in relating that he resigned the sovereignty of Mirandula to reside at Florence. *Essai, tom.* ii. *p.* 296. *Ed. Gen.* Pico neither enjoyed nor had any pretensions to the sovereignty, which, after the death of his father, devolved on his elder brother Galeotto, and afterwards on his nephew Giovan-Francesco; by whom we have a voluminous life of his uncle, written in Latin, and prefixed to his works, which, whilst it affords much information respecting this extraordinary man, displays a deplorable degree of superstition in the author. The mother of Pico was of the family of Boyardo the poet.

(*b*) "Cela," says Voltaire very justly, "n'est certainement pas dans le "cours ordinaire de la nature. Il n'y a point de langue que ne demande environ un année pour la bien savoir. Quiconque dans une si grande jeunesse "en sait vingt deux, peut etre soupçonne de les savoir bien mal, ou plutot il "en sait les elemens, ce qui est ne rien savoir." *Essai, ut sup.*

(*c*) Voltaire, not satisfied with these 900 questions, has increased their number to 1400; and informs us that they may be found at the head of the works of Pico. *Essai ut sup.* It is to be wished that he had pointed out in what

worst light could only be considered as an ebullition of youthful vanity, might, without any great injustice, have been suffered to evaporate in neglect; but the Romish prelates, instead of consigning these propositions to their fate, or debating them with the impartiality of philosophers, began to examine them with the suspicious eyes of church-men, and selected thirteen of them as heretical. To vindicate himself from this dangerous imputation, Pico composed a Latin treatise of considerable extent, which he is said to have written in the space of twenty days, and which he inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici, under whose protection he had sheltered himself from persecution at Florence (*a*). The character and acquirements of Pico afforded to his contemporaries a subject for the most unbounded panegyric. "He was a man," says Politiano, "or rather a hero, on whom nature had lavished all the "endowments both of body and mind; erect and elegant "in his person, there was something in his appearance "almost divine. Of a perspicacious mind, a wonderful "memory,

edition of the works of Pico he had discovered these questions; for the eminence of which he seems to have had the same authority as he had for supposing that the learning of those days consisted merely in an acquaintance with the sophisms of the schoolmen, or that the sciences were then held in contempt by princes and men of eminence. Assertions unworthy of an author who professes to write *sur les mœurs & l'esprit de nations*.

(*a*) *Apologia tredecim quæstionum.* This treatise was published with the other Latin works of Pico, at Venice, *per Bernardinum Venetum*, an. MCCCCLXXXXVIII. in folio, from which edition I shall give the dedication of the *Apologia*, as it is strongly expressive of the esteem and admiration of its author, for Lorenzo de' Medici. *v. App. No.* LIV.

" memory, indefatigable in study, distinct and eloquent " in speech, it seems doubtful whether he was more con- " spicuous for his talents or his virtues. Intimately con- " versant with every department of philosophy, improved " and invigorated by the knowledge of various languages, " and of every honourable science, it may truly be said, " that no commendation is equal to his praise."

The instances before given of the critical talents of Pico, whatever may be thought of their accuracy, will at least justify him from the reproof of Voltaire, who is of opinion that the works of Dante and Petrarca would have been a more suitable study for him, than the summary of St. Thomas, or the compilations of Albert the great (*a*). But the literary pursuits of Pico were not confined to commentaries upon the works of others. From the specimens which remain of his poetical compositions in his native language, there is reason to form a favourable judgment of those which have perished. Crescimbeni confesses, that by his early death the Tuscan poetry sustained a heavy loss, and that his accomplished pen might have rescued it from its degraded state, without the intervention of so many other eminent men, whose labours had been employed to the same purpose (*b*). The few pieces which remain of his Latin poetry induce us to regret the severity of their author. These poems he had arranged in five books, which he submitted to the correction of Politiano, who, having performed

(*a*) *Volt. Essai, tom.* ii. *p.* 296.

(*b*) *Crescimb. Ist. della volgar poesia, v.* ii. *p.* 336.

performed his task, returned them to their author, with an elegant apology for the freedoms which he had taken (*a*). Soon afterwards Pico committed his five books to the flames, to the great regret of Politiano, who has perpetuated this incident by a Greek epigram (*b*). If the works thus destroyed were equal in merit to his Latin elegy addressed to Girolamo Benivieni, posterity have reason to lament the loss (*c*).

Learned women.

Among the circumstances favourable to the promotion of letters in the fifteenth century, another yet remains to be noticed, which it would be unpardonable to omit; and which, if it did not greatly contribute towards their progress, certainly tended, not only to render the study of languages more general, but to remove the idea that the acquisition of them was attended with any extraordinary difficulty. This was the partiality shewn to these studies, and the proficiency made in them, by women, illustrious by their birth, or eminent for their personal accomplishments. Among these, Alessandra, the daughter of Bartolomeo Scala, was peculiarly distinguished. The extraordinary beauty of her person was surpassed by the endowments of her mind. At an early age she was a proficient,

Alessandra Scala.

(*a*) Neque ego judicis (ita me semper ames) sed Momi personam indui, quem ferunt sandalium Veneris tandem culpasse, cum Venerem non posset. Confodi igitur versiculos aliquos, non quod eos improbarem, sed quod tanquam equestris ordinis, cedere reliquis, veluti senatoribus videbanter atque patriciis. *Pol. Ep. lib.* i. *Ep.* 4.

(*b*) *Ibid. lib.* i. *Ep.* 7.

(*c*) Opere di Benivieni, *p.* 75. *Ed. Ven.* 1524.

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cient, not only in the Latin, but the Greek tongue (*a*), which she had studied under Joannes Lascar and Demetrius Chalcondyles. Such an union of excellence attracted the attention, and is supposed to have engaged the affections of Politiano; but Alessandra gave her hand to the Greek Marullus, who enjoyed at Florence the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, and in the elegance of his Latin compositions, emulated the Italians themselves (*b*). Hence probably arose those dissensions between Marullus and Politiano,

(*a*) Some of the Greek poems of Alessandra appear in the works of Politiano. *Ed. Ald.* 1498. And Politiano is supposed to have addressed to this Lady several of his amorous verses.

(*b*) The works of Marullus were published at Florence, under the title of HYMNI ET EPIGRAMMATA. At the close we read, *Impressit Florentiæ Societas Colubris* vi. *kal. Decembris*, MCCCCLXXXXVII. His epigrams are inscribed to Lorenzo, the son of Pier-Francesco de' Medici. The following lines to the father of his mistress possess no inconsiderable share of elegance:

AD BARTHOLOMEUM SCALAM.

Cum musæ tibi debeant latinæ
Tot juncto pede scripta, tot soluto,
Tot sales latio lepore tinctos,
Tot cultis documenta sub figuris,
Tot volumina patriæ dicata,
Quæ nulli taceant diu minores,
Tot prætoria jura, tot curules,
Tot fasces proprio labore partos:
Plus multo tamen, o beate amice est
Quod Scalam Latio pater dedisti.
Aucturam numerum novem sororum,
Casto carmine castiore vita.

The three books of Hymns of Marullus are addressed, not to the objects of Christian worship, but to the Pagan deities, or the phenomena of nature, whence, perhaps, the remark of Erasmus: "Marulli pauca legi, tolerabilia, si "minus haberent paganitatis."

Politiano, the monuments of which yet remain in their writings (*a*).

Cassandra Fidelis.

Of yet greater celebrity is the name of Cassandra Fidelis. Descended from ancestors who had changed their residence from Milan to Venice, and had uniformly added to the respectability of their rank by their uncommon learning, she began at an early age to prosecute her studies with great diligence, and acquired such a knowledge of the learned languages, that she may with justice be enumerated among the first scholars of the age (*b*). The letters which occasionally passed between Cassandra and Politiano demonstrate their mutual esteem, if indeed such expression be sufficient to characterize the feelings of Politiano, who expresses, in language unusually florid, his high admiration of her extraordinary acquirements, and his expectation of the benefits which the cause of letters would derive from her labours and example (*c*). In the year

(*a*) Among the epigrams of Politiano are several of the most outrageous kind, against some person whom he attacks under the name of *Mabilius*; and in the poems of Marullus are some pieces, little inferior in abuse, of which *Bonus* is the subject. Under these masks it is supposed, and not without reason, that these rival scholars directed their shafts at each other.

(*b*) The letters and orations of this lady were published at *Pavia* in 1636, by Jac. Ph. Tomasini, who has prefixed to them some account of her life.

(*c*) "O decus Italiæ, virgo, quas dicere grates, quasve referre parem, "quod etiam honore me tuarum literarum non dedignaris? mira profecto "fides, tales proficisci à femina, quid autem à femina dico, imò verò à puella "& virgine potuisse, &c." "Tibi verò tanta incepta Deus optimus maximus "secundet: et cum recesseris à parentibus, is autor contingat, et consors qui "sit ista virtute non indignus: ut quæ nunc propemodum sua sponte natu-

year 1491, the Florentine scholar made a visit to Venice, where the favourable opinion which he had formed of her writings was confirmed by a personal interview. "Yesterday," says he, writing to his great patron, "I paid a "visit to the celebrated Cassandra, to whom I presented "your respects. She is indeed, Lorenzo, a surprizing woman, as well from her acquirements in her own language, as in the Latin; and in my opinion she may be "called handsome. I left her, astonished at her talents. "She is much devoted to your interests, and speaks of "you with great esteem. She even avows her intention of "visiting you at Florence, so that you may prepare yourself to give her a proper reception (*a*)." From a letter of this lady, many years afterwards, to Leo X. we learn, that an epistolary correspondence had subsisted between her and Lorenzo de' Medici (*b*); and it is with concern we perceive that the remembrance of this intercourse is revived, in order to induce the pontiff to bestow upon her some pecuniary assistance; she being then a widow, with a numerous train of dependants. She lived however to a far more advanced period, and died in the year 1558, having then completed a full century. Her literary acquirements, and the reputation of her early associates, threw a lustre on her declining years; and as her memory remained

"ralis ingenii flamma semel emicuit, ita crebris deinceps aut audita flatibus, "aut enutrita fomitibus effulgeat, ut a nostrorum hominum præcordiis ani- "moque, nox omnis, geluque, penitus & languoris in literis & inscitiæ discu- "tiatur." *Pol. Ep. int. Cass. Fid. Ep.* 101.

(*a*) *v. Pol. Ep. in App. No.* LI.

(*b*) *Cass. Fidelis. Ep.* 123.

remained unimpaired to the last, she was resorted to from all parts of Italy, as a living monument of those happier days, which were never adverted to without regret (*a*).

That this attention to serious studies, by which these celebrated women distinguished themselves, was the characteristic of the sex in general, cannot perhaps be with truth asserted. The admiration bestowed on those who had signalized themselves, affords indeed a strong presumption to the contrary. Yet the pretensions of the sex to literary eminence were not confined to these instances. The Italian historians have noticed many other women of high rank who obtained by their learning no inconsiderable share of applause (*b*). Politiano celebrates as a tenth muse a lady of Sienna, to whom he gives the name of Cecca (*c*); and from the numerous pieces in the learned languages, professedly addressed to women, we may reasonably infer, that these studies were at that time more generally diffused amongst them, than they have been at any subsequent period.

Result of the attention shewn to classical learning.

Having thus adverted to some of the principal causes which accelerated the progress of classical literature in the fifteenth century, and observed the active part which Lorenzo de' Medici took in every transaction that was favourable to

(*a*) *Tomasin. in vitâ Cassandræ, p.* 42.

(*b*) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vi. *parte* 2. *p.* 163

(*c*) Mnemosyne audito Senensis carmine Ceccæ,
Quando inquit decima est nata puella mihi?

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to its promotion, it may now be proper briefly to inquire what was the result of exertions so earnestly made, and so long continued; and whether the tree, which had been transplanted with so much difficulty, and nourished by such constant attention, brought forth fruit sufficient to repay the labour that had been bestowed upon it.

Translations.

One of the first efforts of the Italian scholars was the translation of the most eminent Greek authors into Latin. Among the earliest and most assiduous of these translators is Leonardo Aretino, whose versions of various works of Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, and other Greek authors, form a list too extensive to be recognized in the present work (*a*). The labours of Ficino, though not so numerous, are yet more voluminous. Some account of them is found in a Latin epistle from their author to Politiano: "Why, my "friend," says Ficino, "have you so often desired to "know what works I have published? Is it that you may "celebrate them in your verses? But approbation is not "due to number so much as to choice, and merit is dis-"tinguished by quality rather than quantity (*b*)." If Ficino had adhered more closely to this maxim, it would

(*a*) A very full catalogue of the works of Leonardo is given by Laur. Mehus, and prefixed to his edition of the Letters of this celebrated scholar. *Flor.* 1741. This catalogue comprizes no less than sixty-three different productions, many of which are translations from the Greek.

(*b*) *v. App. No.* LV. Of the works there mentioned, several have been published, the early editions of which are yet held in esteem. His translation

would certainly have diminished nothing of his reputation, which is buried under the immense mass of his own labours. The earliest production in this department of letters, which united elegance with fidelity, is the translation of the history of Herodian, by Politiano (*a*). This work he inscribed to Innocent VIII. in a manly and judicious address, in which he briefly states the rules that he had prescribed to himself in the execution of his work, which are yet deserving of the notice of all who engage in similar undertakings (*b*).

From his early years Politiano had closely attached himself to the study of the writings of Homer; and whilst he was very young, had begun to translate the Iliad into Latin

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of Plato was first printed at Florence without date, and again at Venice, 1491. His version of Plotinus, printed by Miscomini, at the expence of Lorenzo de' Medici, though not published till after his death, is a fine specimen of typography; at the close we read,

Magnifico sumptu Laurentii Medicis patriæ servatoris, impressit ex archetypo Antonius Miscominus Florentiæ Anno MCCCCLXXXXII *Nonis Maii.*

(*a*) Printed three times in the year 1493, viz. at Rome, at Bologna by *Plato de Benedictis*, and at the last-mentioned place by *Bazalerius de Bazaleriis*, Of these editions the second is the most esteemed.

Maittaire, Ann. Typ. v. i. *p.* 558. *De Bure, Bibl. Inst. No.* 4840.

(*b*) Quæ sane nostræ fuerunt partes, tentavimus profecto, utinamque etiam effecerimus, ut omnia ex fide responderent, ne inepta peregrinitas, ne græculæ usquam figuræ, nisi si quæ jam pro receptis habentur, latinam quasi polluerent castitatem; ut eadem propemodum esset linguæ utriusque perspicuitas, eædemque munditiæ, idem utrobique sensus atque indoles, nulla vocum morositas, nulla anxietas. *Pol. in præfat. Ed. Ald.* 1498.

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Latin hexameter verse (*a*). Whoever is acquainted with the great extent of his powers, and the peculiar energy of his Latin compositions, will regret that of this monument of his industry not a vestige remains. That he had made a considerable progress in this work, appears from many authorities; and there is even reason to believe, that his perseverance finally overcame the difficulties of his undertaking. Ficino, writing to Lorenzo de' Medici, and congratulating him on the success of his attention to liberal studies, particularly adverts to the protection afforded by him to Politiano, of whose translation of the Grecian bard he speaks in those terms of florid adulation which too frequently characterize his letters (*b*). Another contemporary author has however plainly indicated that Politiano

(*a*) An epitome of the Iliad in Latin verse, under the fictitious name of Pindar the Theban, is amongst the MSS. of the Laurentian Lib. *Plut.* xxxviii. *Cod.* xii. 2. and has also been published in the Ed. of Homer by Spondanus Basil, 1583. Another translation of the Grecian bard is said to have been executed in the fifteenth century, by Niccolo Valla, who died at twenty-one years of age. *P. Cortes. de Hom. doct. p.* 46. *Valerian. de Literat. Infel. lib.* ii. A translation of the Iliad into Latin prose, by Lorenzo Valla, was published at Brescia 1474, and Lorenzo was accused of having availed himself of a translation made a century before, by Leontius Pilatus, which translation has also been inscribed to Petrarca. *Hod. de Græc. illust. p.* 10.

(*b*) "Divites alii ferme omnes ministros nutriunt voluptatum; Tu sacer-
" dotes musarum nutris: perge precor mi Laurenti; nam illi voluptatum
" servi evadent, tu vero musarum delitiæ. Summus musarum sacerdos, Ho-
" merus, in Italiam, te duce, venit. Et qui hactenus circum vagus et men-
" dicus fuit tandem apud te dulce hospitium repperit. Nutris domi Homeri-
" cum illum adolescentem, Angelum Politianum, qui græcum Homeri per-
" sonam latinis coloribus exprimat. Exprimit jam, atque id quod mirum est
" in tam tenere ætati, ita exprimit ut nisi quis græcum fuisse Homerum no-
" verit, dubitaturus sit, e duobus uter naturalis sit & uter pictus Homerus,
" &c." *Fic. Ep. lib.* i.

tiano completed his important task (*a*), to the progress of which he has occasionally adverted in his own works (*b*). Whether his youthful labours fell a sacrifice to the severity of his riper judgment, or perished in the general dispersion of the Medicean Library, of which he lived to be a witness, is a question which must yet remain undecided.

Italian writers of Latin poetry.

The early part of the fifteenth century was distinguished by a warm admiration of the writings of the ancients, and an extreme avidity to possess them. This was succeeded, as might be expected, by an attention to the accuracy of the text, and an ardent desire of transfusing their beauties into a language more generally known. Towards the latter part of the century a further progress was made;

(*a*) Amongst the Latin poems of Alessandro Braccio, the contemporary and friend of Politiano, and well known by his translation of the works of Appian, is the following epigram:

" AD LAURENTIUM MEDICEM.

" Tempora nostra tibi multum debentia Laurens,
" Non minus hoc debent, nobile propter opus,
" Maeonium, duce te quod nuper et auspice, vatem,
" Convertit Latios Angelus in numeros,
" Cumque decore suo cum majestate legendum,
" Dat nobis qualem Græcia docta legit,
" Ut dubites *Latius* malit quam *Græcus Homerus*
" Esse, magis patrius hunc nisi vincat amor."

Band. Cat. lib. Laur. iii. 780.

(*b*) " Nam et ego is sum qui ab ineunte adolescentia, ita hujus eminentis-
" simi poetæ studio ardoreque flagraverim, ut non modo eum totum legendo
" olfecerim, pœneque contriverim, sed juvenili quodam, ac prope temerario
" ausu, vertere etiam in Latinum tentaverim."

Pol. Orat. in Exp. Homeri in op. Ald. 1498.

made; and from commenting, and translating, the Italians began to emulate these remains of ancient genius. Those who distinguished themselves during the time of Cosmo, and Piero de' Medici, have already attracted some share of our notice; but it must in general be acknowledged, that although their labours exhibit at times a tolerable knowledge of the mechanical parts of learning, and have the body and form of poetic composition, yet the animating spirit that should communicate life and motion is sought for in vain; or if it be any where discoverable, is only to be found in the licentious productions of Beccatelli (*a*). Of that kind of composition which may be called classical, modern Italy had seen no examples. The writings of Landino, of which specimens have been already given, are however entitled to some share of approbation; and if they be not marked by any powerful efforts of imagination, nor remind us strongly of the ancient authors, they possess a flow of language, and a facility of diction and versification, much superior to his predecessors. A further proficiency was made by Naldo Naldio, or *Naldo de Naldis*, the friend of Ficino and Politiano, and the frequent panegyrist of the Medici (*b*). The poem of Ugolino Verini, "*De Illustratione Urbis Florentiæ*," is perhaps more estimable for the

Landino.

Ugolino Verini.

(*a*) *v. ante, v.* I. *p.* 51.

(*b*) The poems of Naldio are printed in the *Selecta Poemata Italorum, v.* vi. *p.* 412. of these the first is addressed, *Ad Petrum Medicem in obitu magni Cosmi ejus genitoris, qui vere dum vixit optimus Parens Patriæ cognominatus fuit.* An extract from this piece in the Appendix, No. LVI. will sufficiently shew, that Naldio was possessed of no inconsiderable talents for Latin poetry. Another of the poems of Naldio is addressed to Annalena, a nun, probably the sister-in-

the authenticity of the information it communicates, than for its poetical excellence, yet Verini has left other testimonies that entitle him to rank with the first Latin poets of his age (*a*). These pieces are principally devoted to the praises of the Medici, and frequently advert to the characters of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and to the circumstances of the times (*b*).

In

law of Bernardo Pulci (*v. ante, vol.* i. *p.* 245.), in which the poet laments the death of Albiera Albizzi, the wife of Sigismundo Stufa, on whose death Politiano has also left a beautiful Latin elegy. It is probable there were two successive authors of this name, whose works are inserted in the *Carmina illust.* as it can scarcely be supposed that the same person who addressed himself to Piero on the death of his father in 1464, and had before written a poem to Cosmo on the death of his son John, should be the author of the pieces in this collection which are inscribed to Leo X. who did not enter on his pontificate till 1513. Politiano has left the following commendatory epigram on the writings of Naldio:

Dum celebrat Medicem *Naldus*, dum laudat amicam,
Et pariter gemino raptus amore canit,
Tam lepidum unanimes illi ornavere libellum,
Phœbus, Amor, Pallas, Gratia, Musa, Fides.

(*a*) The example of Landino in affixing to his poetical labours the name of his mistress (*v. ante, vol.* i. *p.* 89.) was followed by Verini, who gave the title of *Flametta* to his two books of Latin elegies, which he inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici, and which yet remain in the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* xxxix. *cod.* 42.). Bandini supposes that Landino, as well as many other learned men of those times, had a real object of his passion, for which he gives a very satisfactory reason. "Neque hoc nomen fictum esse crediderim, quum revera "mihi compertum sit, illius ævi litteratos viros, *ut nunc quoque accidit*, puellas "in deliciis habuisse plurimum, in earumque laudem carmina, ad instar illa "Ovidii quæ amatoria nuncupantur, exarasse."

Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v. i. *p.* 120.

(*b*) In the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* xxvi. *cod.* 21.) is preserved a poem by Ugolino, to which he has given the name of *Paradisus*. On his imaginary excursion to the celestial regions, the poet meets with Cosmo de' Medici, who converses with him at great length on the affairs of Florence, and particularly on the situation of his own family.

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Michael Verini.

In Michael Verini, the son of Ugolino, we have a surprising instance of early attainments in learning. He was born in 1465; and although he died at the age of seventeen years, yet in that short space of time he had obtained the admiration, and conciliated the esteem of his learned contemporaries. His principal work is a collection of Latin *disticha*, which exhibit great facility both of invention and expression, and an acquaintance with human life and manners far beyond his years. His Latin letters, of which a large collection is preserved in the Laurentian Library (*a*), and which are chiefly addressed to his father, are as honourable to the paternal kindness of the one, as to the filial affection of the other. His death is said to have been occasioned by his repugnance to obey the prescription of his physicians, who recommended an experiment which it seems his modesty did not approve, and he fell a sacrifice to his pertinacious chastity (*b*). From his letters it appears

(*a*) *Plut.* lxxxx. *cod.* 28. From these letters Bandini has in his valuable catalogue given copious extracts. *v.* iii. *p.* 462, *et seq.*

(*b*) This event has been commemorated both in verse and prose, in Latin and Italian, by many contemporary authors. (*v. App. No.* LVII.) Verini is not the only instance of the kind on record. If we may believe Ammirato, the death of the cardinal of Lisbon in 1459 was occasioned by a similar circumstance. *Amm. Ist. Flor. v.* iii. *p.* 89. That such a remedy had been prescribed to Verini, is apparent from the following affecting passage in one of his letters: "Insuperabilis me valitudo confecit, membra ut sint pallore macieque "deformia; nocte crucior, die non quiesco, & quod me acrius torquet, in "tanto dolore spes nulla salutis. Quamquam medici, et tota domus, & amici, "nihil pericli asserant, deprehendo tamen tacitos in vultu timores, suspiria, "murmur, taciturnitatem, mœroris cuncta signa prospicio; sed cui notior "morbus quam mihi? Quidquid acciderit, utinam forti animo feramus; scio "mihi nullum de vita factum restare pœnitendum, nisi quod potueram vali-"tudini consulere sapientius; verum mihi *pudor*, vel potius *rusticitas* obfuit— "vale."

pears that both he and his father lived on terms of intimacy and friendship with Landino, Bartolomeo Fontio, and Politiano, and that Lorenzo de' Medici occasionally passed a leisure hour in convivial intercourse with this learned family (*a*).

Other Latin poets of the fifteenth century.

The reputation acquired by the Florentines in the cultivation of Latin poetry stimulated the exertions of other Italian scholars. On the memorable occasion of the conspiracy of the Pazzi, Platinus Platus, a Milanese, addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici a copy of verses, which obtained his warm approbation (*b*). The exertions of Lorenzo in establishing the academy at Pisa gave rise to a poem of greater merit and importance, by Carolus de Maximis (*c*). To

(*a*) "Fingit Homerus Jovem ipsum, aliosque Deos, Olympo relicto, "apud Ethiopas divertisse, cœnasse, lusisse: Augustum etiam orbis terra- "rum principem, apud privatos sine ullo apparatu cœnitasse: sed cur vetera? "Laurentius Medices urbis nostræ facile primus, apud patrem meum pransus "est nonnumquam," &c.

Mic. Ver. Ep. 15. *ad Sim. Canisianum. ap. Band. Cat. v.* iii. *p.* 483.

(*b*) Laurentius Medices, quanta voluptate adficeretur in perlegendis poeticis ejusdem (Plati) lucubrationibus, quantoque illum in pretio haberet, testatus est in epistola ad ipsum scripta, ob acceptum ex ejus carminibus non mediocre doloris levamen in nefarie patrata fratris sui cæde: ait enim, "vetus "est verbum, mi Platine, *insuavem esse in luctu musicam:* ego vero tuis per- "lectis versiculis, re ipsa reperi nihil tam maxime ad solatium facere quam "musicam." *Saxius in Hist. Litterario Typogr. Mediol. ap. Band. in Cat. Bib. Laur. v.* ii. *p.* 193. These verses are published in the *Select. Poem. Ital. v.* vii. *p.* 256.

(*c*) DE STUDIO PISANAE URBIS ET EJUS SITUS MAXIMA FELICITATE AD LAURENTIUM MEDICEM. This piece is preserved in the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* lxxxxi. *cod.* 46. *v. Band. Cat. v.* iii. *p.* 850.), and contains so full, and at the same time so elegant an eulogy on the character of Lorenzo, and particularly on his attention to the promotion of letters, that I have given it a place in the Appendix, No. LVIII.

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To the authors before mentioned we may add the names of Cantalicio, Nicodemo Folengi, Alessandro Braccio, and Aurelio Augurelli, all of whom have cultivated Latin poetry with different degrees of success, and have addresed some portion of their works to Lorenzo de' Medici, to which the reader may not be displeased to refer (*a*).

Of

(*a*) The poems of Cantalicio are published in the *Carmina Illust. Poet. Ital. vol.* iii. *p.* 123. and are inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici. Those of Folengi are inserted in the same work, *vol.* iv. *p.* 419.[1] Alessandro Braccio was equally eminent in politics and letters. He was for some time secretary of the Florentine republic, and died on an embassy to pope Alexander VI. His translation of Appian into Italian is yet highly esteemed, and forms part of the *Collana*, or series of Italian historical works. The Latin poems of Braccio, though very numerous, have not yet been published, but are preserved in the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* lxxxxi. *cod.* 40, 41. Many of them are inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici and other men of eminence, as Landino, Ficino, Bartolomeo Scala, Ugolini Verini, &c. I have before adduced some lines of this author to Lorenzo de' Medici, and shall hereafter avail myself of an opportunity of producing a more extensive specimen of his works. The following epigram addressed to Politiano is not inapplicable to our present subject:

v. Band. Cat. v. iii. *p.* 781.

AD ANGELUM BASSUM POLITIANENSEM.

Tanta tibi tenero quum surgat pectore virtus,
Quanta vel annoso vix queat esse seni,
Ac tua grandisono reboent quum, *Basse*, cothurno
Carmina, magnanimo non nisi digna duce,
Et tibi sit locuples oris facundia docti,
Teque suis ditet Græcia litterulis,
Te precor ad longos ut servet Juppiter annos,
Incolumemque sinat vivere posse diu.
Nam tua Mæonio multum certantia vati
Carmina quis dubitet, Virgilioque fore?
Atque decus clarum nostræ magnumque futurum
Quis neget ætatis te, memorande puer?
Sis igitur felix, nostri spes maxima saecli,
Teque putes nobis charius esse nihil.

Aurelio Augurelli is more generally known. His poems have frequently been published. The first edition is that of Verona, 1491, in 4to; the most

Character of the Latin poetry of Politiano.

Of all these authors, though some possess a considerable share of merit, not one of them can contend in point of poetical excellence with Politiano, who in his composition approaches nearer to the standard of the ancients than any man of his time; yet, whilst he emulates the dignity of Virgil, or reminds us of the elegance of Horace, he suggests not to our minds the idea of servile imitation. Of the character of his writings various opinions have indeed been entertained, which have been detailed at large by Baillet, and still more copiously by Menckenius (*a*). It may therefore be sufficient on this occasion to caution the reader against an implicit acquiescence in the opinions of two eminent living authors who have either obliquely censured, or too cautiously approved his poetical works (*b*). In the attempt made by Politiano to

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correct and elegant, that of Aldus, 1505. These poems rank in the first class of modern Latin poetry.

(*a*) *Baillet Jugemens des Sçavans, vol.* iv. *p.* 18. *Menck. in vitâ Pol. passim.*

(*b*) Tiraboschi, adopting the sentiments of Giraldi, acknowledges that Politiano was possessed of a vivid genius, of extensive powers, and of uncommon and diversified erudition; but censures his Latin poetry as deficient in elegance and choice of expression. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vi. *par.* 2. *p.* 234. Fabroni, adverting to the Italian poetry of Politiano, insinuates, that the Latin muses were reserved and coy, to one who had obtained the favour of their sister at so early an age, by his verses on the *Giostra* of Giuliano de' Medici. *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. p.* 157. To oppose to these opinions the authority of many other eminent men who have mentioned the Latin writings of Politiano with almost unlimited praise, would only be to detail the compilations of Baillet or Menckenius. But the works of Politiano are yet open to the inspection of the inquisitive scholar; and though certainly unequal in point of merit, perhaps according to the time of life at which they were produced, will be found, upon the whole, to possess a vigour of sentiment, a copiousness

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to restore a just taste for the literature of the ancients, it is not to be denied that he had powerful coadjutors in Pontano and Sanazaro (*a*), whose labours have given to the delightful vicinity of Naples new pretensions to the appellation of classic ground. Nor will it diminish his reputation if we admit that the empire which he had founded was in the next century extended and secured by the exertions of Fracastoro, Vida, Naugerio, and Flaminio (*b*), in whom the

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of imagination, and a classical elegance of expression, which, if considered with reference to the age in which he lived, entitle them to the highest esteem.

(*a*) Giacopo Sanazaro, or, by his academical appellation, Actius Sincerus Sanazarius, was a Neapolitan, born in the year 1458, and equally eminent by his Italian and Latin compositions. In the former, his reputation is chiefly founded on his *Arcadia*; in the latter, on his poem in three books, *De partu Virginis*, which is allowed, however, to be greatly blemished by the introduction of the pagan deities to the mysteries of the Christian religion.

(*b*) I cannot mention these names without regretting the limits to which I am necessarily confined. The rivals of Virgil, of Ovid, and of Catullus, ought not, in a work that touches on the rise of letters, to be commemorated at the foot of a page. The *Syphilis* of Fracastoro, *sive de Morbo Gallico*, though an unpromising subject, is beyond comparison the finest Latin poem that has appeared since the times of the ancients. The writings of Vida are more generally known, and would be entitled to higher applause, if they did not frequently discover to the classical reader an imitation of the ancients that borders on servility. Naugerio was a noble Venetian, who died young on an embassy from the republic. In his last moments he destroyed all his writings then in his possession, as not being sufficiently correct for the public eye; but the few that had been previously distributed among his friends were collected and published by them after his death, and breathe the true spirit of poetry. In Flaminio we have the simplicity and tenderness of Catullus, without his licentiousness. To those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not be thought extravagant to assert, that many of them, in the species of composition to which they are confined, were never excelled. The question addressed by him

the great poets of the Augustan age seem once more to be revived.

General idea of the state of literature in Florence.

Whilst the study of polite literature was thus emerging from its state of reptile torpor, the other sciences felt the effects of the same invigorating beam; and the city of Florence, like a sheltered garden in the opening of spring, re-echoed with the earliest sounds of returning animation. The Platonic academy existed in full splendor, and served as a common bond to unite, at stated intervals, those who had signalized themselves by scientific or literary pursuits. The absurd pretensions of judicial astrology were freely examined and openly exposed; and observation and experiment were at length substituted in the place of conjecture and of fraud (*a*). Paollo Toscanelli had already erected his celebrated Gnomon (*b*). Lorenzo da Volpaja constructed

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to a friend, respecting the writings of Catullus, "Quando leggete—non vi "sentite voi liquefare il cuore di dolcezza?" may with confidence be repeated to all those who are conversant with his works.

(*a*) Pico of Mirandula was one of the first who entered the lists against this formidable adversary of real knowledge, in his treatise in twelve books, *adversus Astrologos*, which is found in the general collection of his works. *Ven.* 1498.

(*b*) This Gnomon, which has justly been denominated the noblest astronomical instrument in the world, was erected by Toscanelli, about the year 1460, for the purpose of determining the solstices, and thereby ascertaining the feasts of the Romish church. It is fixed in the cupola of the church of S. Maria del fiore, at the height of 277 Parisian feet. A small orifice transmits from that distance the rays of the sun to a marble flag, placed in the floor of the church. This instrument was, in the present century, corrected and im-

constructed for Lorenzo de' Medici, a clock, or piece of mechanism, which not only marked the hour of the day, but the motions of the sun and of the planets, the eclipses, the signs of the zodiac, and the whole revolutions of the heavens (*a*). A laudable attempt was made by Francesco Berlinghieri to facilitate the study of geography, by uniting it with poetry (*b*). In metaphysics several treatises made their appearance, some of which are inscribed by their authors to Lorenzo de' Medici (*c*). His efforts to promote the important science of medicine, and to rescue it from the absurdities in which it was enveloped, are acknowledged by

proved at the instance of M. de la Condamine, who acknowledges it to be a striking proof of the capacity and extended views of its author.

(*a*) Politiano has left a very particular description of this curious piece of machinery. *Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 8. A singular spectacle was also devised by Lorenzo de' Medici for the amusement of the populace, a memorial of which is preserved in a poem by Naldio, *Carm. Illust. v.* vi. *p.* 436. entitled *Elegia in septem Stellas errantes sub humana specie per urbem Florentinam curribus a Laurentio Medice Patriæ Patre duci jussas, more triumphantium.* From this poem we learn that the planets were personified and distinguished by their proper attributes, and that they performed their evolutions to the sound of music, with verses explanatory of their motions and supposed qualities.

Nec tantum signis quot erant ea sidera certis
Monstrasti, Medices, qua specieque forent,
Dulcibus at numeris suavi modulatus ab ore
Singula quid faciant præcipis arte cani.

(*b*) The *Geografia* of Berlinghieri was published with maps at Florence in the year 1480.

(*c*) Niccolo Fulginato addressed to Lorenzo his treatise *De Ideis*, which yet remains in manuscript in the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* lxxxii. *cod.* 22. *Band. Cat.* iii. 201. and Leonardo Nogarola a work intitled *De Immortalitate animæ. Plut.* lxxxiii. *cod.* 22. *Band. Cat.* iii. 219.

by several of its most eminent professors, who cultivated it on more rational principles, and have attributed their proficiency to his bounty (*a*). In the practice and theory of music, Antonio Squarcialupi excelled all his predecessors; and Lorenzo is said to have written a poem in his praise (*b*). His liberality was emulated by many other illustrious citizens, who were allied to him by affinity, or attached by the ties of friendship and of kindred studies, and the innumerable literary works of this period, the production of Florentine authors, evince the success that attended their exertions. Of these works many yet hold a high rank, not only for practical knowledge, but for purity of diction; and upon the whole they bear

(*a*) Bernardus de Torniis, dedicating to Giovanni de' Medici, when a cardinal, his treatise *de Cibis Quadragesimalibus*, thus addresses him: "Laurentius, "pater tuus, Reverendissime Domine, tanta erga me utitur humanitate, ac "tot beneficiis Tornium adstringit, ut filiis totique domui, perpetuo me debere "profitear. Degustavi nutu ejus medicinalem scientiam, neque sui caussa de- "fuit quidquam, quo ad illius apicem potuerim pervenire." *Band. Cat. v.* i. *p.* 659. In the Laurentian Library are several medical works addressed to Lorenzo, as Joh. Calora. Compend. Febrium. *Band. Cat.* iii. 42. Joh. Aretini de Medicinæ et legum præstantia, &c. *ib.* iii. 141.

(*b*) This I mention on the authority of Mr. Tenhove. "En fait de mu- "sique," says he, giving an account of Leo. Bat. Alberti, "il ne cédait qu'au "seul Antoine Squarcialupo. J'ai sous les yeux un poeme que Laurent. de' "Médicis fit en l'honneur de ce dernier; car quel est le genre de talens auquel "Médicis ne faisait pas accueil?" *Mem. Geneal. de la Maison de Medicis, lib.* x. *p.* 99. I regret that this poem of Lorenzo has escaped my researches. Valori relates, that Lorenzo being present when the character of this celebrated musician was the subject of censure, observed to his detractors, *If you knew how difficult it is to arrive at excellence in any science, you would speak of him with more respect. Val. in vitâ Laur. p.* 45.

bear the stamp of industry, talents, and good sense. And as they may be preferred, both in point of information and composition, to the productions that immediately preceded them, so they are perhaps more truly estimable than many of those of the ensuing century; when, by an overstrained attention to the beauty of language, the importance of the subject was frequently neglected or forgotten, and the talents of the first men of the age being devoted rather to words than to things, were overwhelmed in a prolixity of language, that in the form of letters, orations, and critical dissertations, became the opprobrium of literature, and the destruction of true taste.

CHAP. VIII.

DOMESTIC character of Lorenzo de' Medici—Accused of being addicted to licentious amours—Children of Lorenzo—His conduct towards them—Politiano accompanies them to Pistoia—They remove to Caffagiolo—Dissensions between Politiano and Madonna Clarice—He retires to Fiesole, and writes his poem intitled RUSTICUS*—Piero de' Medici—Giovanni de' Medici—Lorenzo discharges his debts, and quits commerce for agriculture—Villa of Poggio-Cajano—Careggi—Fiesole and other domains—Piero visits the Pope—Giovanni raised to the dignity of a cardinal—Admonitory letter of Lorenzo—Piero marries Alfonsina Orsini—Visits Milan—Learned ecclesiastics favoured by Lorenzo—Mariano Gennazano—Girolamo Savonarola—Matteo Bosso—Death of Madonna Clarice—Assassination of Girolamo Riario—Tragical death of Galeotto Manfredi prince of Faenza.*

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HAVING hitherto traced the conduct of Lorenzo de' Medici in public life, we may now be allowed to follow him to his domestic retreat, and observe him in the intercourse of his family, the education of his children, or the society of his friends. The mind of man varies with his local situation, and before it can be justly estimated, must be viewed in those moments when it expands in the warmth of confidence, and exhibits its true colours in the sunshine of affection. Whether it was from the suggestions of policy, or the versatility of his natural disposition, that Lorenzo de' Medici turned with such facility from concerns of high importance to the discussion of subjects of amusement, and the levity of convivial intercourse, certain it is, that few persons have displayed this faculty in so eminent a degree. "Think not," says Politiano, writing to

Domestic character of Lorenzo.

to his friend (*a*), "that any of our learned associates, even "they who have devoted their lives to study, are to be es- "teemed superior to Lorenzo de' Medici, either for acute- "ness in disputation, or for good sense in forming a just "decision; or that he yields to any of them in expressing "his thoughts with facility, variety, and elegance. The "examples of history are as familiar to him as the attend- "ants that surround his table; and when the nature of his "subject admits of it, his conversation is abundantly sea- "soned with the salt collected from that ocean, from which "Venus herself first sprung (*b*)." His talent for irony was peculiar, and folly and absurdity seldom escaped his animadversion (*c*). In the collections formed by the Florentines, of the *motti a burle* of celebrated men, Lorenzo bears a distinguished part; but when expressions adapted to the occasion of a moment are transplanted to the page of a book, and submitted to the cool consideration of the closet, they too often remind us of a flower cropt from its stalk, to be preserved in arid deformity. Possibly too, those who have assumed the task of selection may not have been accurate in their choice, and perhaps the celebrity of his name

(*a*) *Ang. Polit. Lodovico Odaxio. Ep. lib.* iii. *Ep.* 6.

(*b*) ——— Lususque Salesque,
Sed lectus pelago, quo Venus orta sales,

Says Jacques Moisant, Sieur de Brieux. *v.* Menagiana, *tom.* i. *p.* 59. where the author has traced this sentiment from Plutarch to Politiano, and downwards to Victorius, Heinsius, and de Brieux. "Quelque belle & fine, au "reste," says he, "que soit cette pensée, usée aujourd'hui comme elle est, "on n'oserait plus la repétér."

(*c*) "Quum jocabatur, nihil hilarius; quum mordebat nihil asperius." *Valori, in vitâ, p.* 14.

name may have been an inducement to others to attribute to him witticisms unworthy of his character. Yet the *bon-mots* of Lorenzo may rank with many of those which have been published with importance, and read with avidity (*a*). Grazzini has also introduced this eminent man as amusing himself with a piece of meditated jocularity, in order to free himself from the importunate visits of a physician, who too frequently appeared at his table; but, for the veracity of this narrative, we have only the authority of a professed novelist (*b*). Nor is it likely that Lorenzo,

(*a*) Several of them are related by Valori, and many others may be found in the *Facetie, Motti et Burle, di diversi Signori, &c. Raccolte per Lod. Domenichi. Ven.* 1588. One of his kinsmen, remarkable for his avarice, having boasted that he had at his villa a plentiful stream of fine water, Lorenzo replied, *If so, you might afford to keep cleaner hands.* Bartolommeo Soccini, of Sienna, having observed, in allusion to the defect in Lorenzo's sight, that the air of Florence was injurious to the eyes; *True,* said Lorenzo, *and that of Sienna to the brain.* Being interrogated by Ugolino Martelli, why he rose so late in the morning, Lorenzo in return inquired from Martelli, why he rose so soon, and finding that it was to employ himself in trifles, *My morning dreams,* said Lorenzo, *are better than thy morning's business.* When Soccini eloped from Florence, to evade his enagements as professor of civil law there, and being taken and brought back, was committed to prison, he complained that a man of his eminence should undergo such a shameful punishment. *You should remember,* said Lorenzo, *that the shame is not in the punishment, but in the crime.*

Val. p. 14. *Dom. p.* 121, *&c.*

(*b*) Anton-Francesco Grazzini, detto Il Lasca. *Novelle, Ed. Lond.* 1756. *La terza Cena, Nov.* x. The argument of this novel is as follows: "Lorenzo " vecchio de' Medici da due travestiti, fa condurre Maestro Manente ubriaco " una sera dopo cena segretamente nel suo palagio, e quivi e altrove lo tiene, " senza sapere egli dove sia, lungo tempo al bujo, facendogli portar mangiare " da due immascherati; dopo per via del Monaco buffone, da a credere alle " persone, lui esser morto di peste, perciocchè cavato di casa sua un morto, " in suo scambio lo fa dissotterare. Il Magnifico poi con modo stravagante

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Lorenzo, though he frequently indulged in the license allowed by the Roman satirist, would have forgotten the precaution with which it is accompanied (*a*), or would have misemployed his time and his talents, in contriving and executing a stale and insipid jest.

Accused of being addicted to licentious amours.

Although there is reason to believe that Clarice Orsini, the wife of Lorenzo, was not the object of his early passion, yet that he lived with her in uninterrupted affection, and treated her on all occasions with the respect due to her rank and her virtues, appears from many circumstances. He has not however escaped an imputation which has sometimes attached itself to names of great celebrity, and which indeed too often taints the general mass of excellence with the leaven of human nature. "Such a combination of "talents and of virtues," says Machiavelli, "as appeared "in Lorenzo de' Medici, was not counterbalanced by a "single fault, although he was incredibly devoted to the "indulgence of an amorous passion (*b*)." In asserting a particular defect, it is remarkable that the historian admits it not as an exception to his general approbation. Yet

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"manda via Maestro Manente, il quale finalmente creduto morto da ognuno, "arriva in Firenze, dove la moglie, pensando che fusse l' anima sua, lo caccia "via come se fusse lo spirito, e dalla gente avuto la corsa, trova solo Burchi- "ello, che lo riconosce, e piatendo prima la moglie in Vescovado, e poi alli "Otto è rimesso la causa in Lorenzo, il quale fatto venire Nepo da Gaia- "trona, fa veder alle persone, ogni cosa esser intervenuta al Medico per forza "d' incanti; sicchè riavuta la donna, Maestro Manente piglia per suo avvo- "cato San Cipriano."

(*a*) Nec lusisse pudet—sed non incidere ludum. *Hor. Ep. lib.* i.

(*b*) *Hist. Flor. lib.* viii.

Yet it is not to be denied, that if such an accusation were established, it would be difficult to apologize for Lorenzo, although the manners of the age, and the vivacity of his natural disposition, might be urged in extenuation of his misconduct. In justice however to his character, it must be observed, that the history of the times furnishes us with no information, either as to the circumstances attending his amours, or the particular objects of his passion (*a*); nor indeed does there appear, from the testimony of his contemporaries, any reason to infer that he is justly charged with this deviation from the rules of virtue, and of decorum (*b*). Probably this imputation is founded only on a presumption arising from the amorous tendency of some of his poetical writings; and certain it is, that if the offspring of imagination and the effusions of poetry be allowed to decide, his conviction will be apparent in almost every line. It may perhaps be observed that these pieces were chiefly the productions of his youth, before the restrictions of the marriage vow had suppressed the breathings of

(*a*) On lui a encore reproché le defaut des ames héroiques & sensibles, trop de penchant à l' amour. Je sçai qu'il aima prodigieusement les femmes, & j'ignore comment cette sourse inépuisable de faiblesses, n'en fut point une pour lui. S'il brulait vivement, il brulait sensement; jamais ses galanteries ne firent ombrage aux citoyens, parcequ'elles n' influèrent en rien sur sa conduite publique. Sa vie grave, & sa vie badine, étaient tellement séparées, qu'on eût dit qu'il y avait deux hommes en lui.

Tinboveſ, Mem. Geneal. de la Maiſon de Medicis, liv. xi. *p.* 143.

(*b*) In the poem of Brandolini, *De laudibus Laur. Med.* (*App. No.* L.) the attention of Lorenzo to the dictates of morality and decorum, as well in himself as others, is the particular subject of panegyric, and that by a contemporary writer. Had the conduct of Lorenzo been notoriously licentious, such praise would have been the severest satire.

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of passion; but how shall we elude the inference which arises from the following lines?

Teco l' avessi il ciel donna congiunto
In matrimonio: ah che pria non venisti
Al mondo, o io non son più tardo giunto?

O that the marriage bond had join'd our fate,
Nor I been born too soon, nor thou too late!

Or from these, which are still more explicit?

Ma questo van pensiero a che soggiorno?
Se tu pur dianzi, ed io fui un tempo avanti,
Dal laccio conjugal legato intorno?

But why these thoughts irrelevant and vain!
If I, long since in Hymen's fetters tied,
Am doom'd to hear another call thee bride?

Nor must it be denied that this elegiac fragment, though incorrect and unfinished, is distinguished by that pathos and glow of expression which genuine passion can alone inspire (*a*). If in this piece Lorenzo be amorous, in others he is licentious; and if we admit the production of a moment of levity, as the evidence of his feelings, the only regret that he experienced was from the reflection, that he had in the course of his past time imprudently

(*a*) *v.* this piece, intitled *Elegia*, in the poems of Lorenzo, published at the close of this volume.

imprudently neglected so many opportunities of collecting the sweets that were strewn in his way (*a*). But shall we venture to infer, that because Lorenzo wrote amorous verses, and amused himself with *jeux d' esprit*, his life was dissolute, and his conduct immoral? "As "poetry is the flower of science," says Menage, "so "there is not a single person of education who has not "composed, or at least wished to compose verses; and as "love is a natural passion, and poetry is the language of "love, so there is no one who has written verses who has "not felt the effects of love." If we judge with such severity, what will become of the numerous throng of poets who have thought it sufficient to alledge in their justification, that if

Their verse was wanton, yet their lives were chaste?

or what shall we say to the extensive catalogue of learned ecclesiastics, who have endeavoured to fill the void of celibacy, by composing verses on subjects of love (*b*)?

Children of Lorenzo.

Whatever may be thought of the conduct or the sentiments of Lorenzo on this head, it does not appear that he left any offspring of illicit love; but by his wife Clarice he had a numerous progeny, of which three sons and

(*a*) See the piece intitled *La Confessione*, also printed amongst his poems at the end of the present volume.

(*b*) For this catalogue, from Heliodorus bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, to M. Du Bois doctor in Theology at Paris, the reader may consult the *Anti-Baillet* of M. Menage, written by him when upwards of seventy years of age, and the most singular instance of industry, wit, vanity, and learning that the annals of literature can produce.

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and four daughters arrived at the age of maturity. Piero his eldest son was born on the fifteenth day of February 1471; Giovanni, on the eleventh day of December 1475; and Giuliano, his youngest, in 1478. Of these the first was distinguished by a series of misfortunes too justly merited, the two latter by an unusual degree of prosperity; Giovanni having obtained the dignity of the Tiara, which he wore by the name of Leo X.; and Giuliano having allied himself by marriage to the royal house of France, and obtained the title of duke of Nemours.

His conduct towards them.

In no point of view does the character of this extraordinary man appear more engaging than in his affection towards his children, in his care of their education, and in his solicitude for their welfare. In their society he relaxed from his important occupations, and accustomed himself to share their pleasures and promote their amusements (*a*). By what more certain means can a parent obtain that confidence so necessary to enable him to promote the happiness of his children? The office of an instructor of youth he considered as of the highest importance. "If," says he, "we esteem those who contribute to the pro-

"sperity

(*a*) ——"Si dilettasse d' huomini faceti e mordaci, & di giuochi puerili, "più che a tanto huomo non pareva si convenisse; in modo che molte volte "fu visto tra i suoi figliuoli e figliuole, tra i loro trastulli mescolarsi." *Mac. Hist. lib.* viii. On this subject I must not omit the comment of the interesting and elegant Tenhove: "Est il un spectacle plus touchant, que celui de voir "un tel homme déposer le fardeau de la gloire au sein de la nature? A des "yeux non viciés Laurent de' Medicis parait bien grande, e bien aimable, "lors'quil joue a croix & pile avec le petit duc de Nemours, ou qu'il se roule a "terre avec Leon X." *Tenh. Mem. Genal. lib.* xi. *p.* 142.

" sperity of the state, we ought to place in the first rank " the tutors of our children, whose labours are to influence " posterity, and on whose precepts and exertions the dig- " nity of our family, and of our country, in a great measure " depends (*a*)."

Politiano accompanies them to Pistoia.

Soon after the conspiracy of the Pazzi, when Lorenzo thought it expedient to remove his family to Pistoia, they were accompanied by Politiano, as the instructor of his sons, who gave frequent information to his patron of their situation, and the progress made in the education of his children. These confidential letters enable us to form a more accurate idea of the disposition of their author, than we can collect from any of his writings intended for publication. Restless, impatient of control, concentering all merit in the acquisition of learning, he could brook no opposition to his authority. The intervention of Madonna Clarice, in the direction of her children, was in his judgment impertinent, because she was unlettered, and a woman. In one of his letters he earnestly requests that Lorenzo will delegate to him a more extensive power; whilst in another, written on the same day, he acknowledges that this request was made under the impulse of passion, and solicits indulgence for the infirmity of his temper. The subsequent eminence of

(*a*) Si feræ partus suos diligunt, qua nos in liberos nostros indulgentia esse debemus? Et si omnes, qui civitati consulunt, cari nobis sunt, cerce in primis liberorum institutores, quorum industria sempiternum tempus spectat, quorumque præceptis, consiliis, & virtute, retinebimus familiæ et republicæ dignitatem. *Laur. Med. ad Polit. ap. Fabr.* v. i. *p.* 166.

of his pupils renders these letters interesting (*a*). What friend of literature can be indifferent to the infancy of Leo the Tenth? "Piero," says Politiano, "attends to his studies "with tolerable diligence. We daily make excursions "through the neighbourhood, we visit the gardens with "which this city abounds, and sometimes look into the "library of Maestro Zambino, where I have found some "good pieces, both in Greek and Latin. Giovanni rides "out on horseback, and the people follow him in crowds."

They remove to Caffagiolo.

From Pistoia the family retired in the close of the year to Caffagiolo, where they passed the winter; from whence Politiano continued his correspondence with Lorenzo, and occasionally addressed himself to his mother, Madonna Lucretia, between whom and this eminent scholar there subsisted a friendly and confidential intercourse. These letters afford an additional proof of the querulousness of genius, and may serve to reconcile mediocrity to its placid insignificance (*b*). "The only news I can send you," thus he writes to this lady, "is, that we have here such continual rains "that it is impossible to quit the house, and the exercises "of the country are changed for childish sports within "doors. Here I stand by the fire-side, in my great coat "and slippers, that you might take me for the very figure "of melancholy. Indeed I am the same at all times; for "I neither see, nor hear, nor do any thing that gives me "pleasure,

(*a*) They are given, from the collection of Fabroni, in the Appendix to the present volume, *No.* LIX.

(*b*) *v. App. No.* LX.

" pleasure, so much am I affected by the thoughts of our " calamities; sleeping and waking they still continue to " haunt me. Two days since we were all rejoicing upon " hearing that the plague had ceased—now we are de- " pressed on being informed that some symptoms of it " yet remain. Were we at Florence we should have some " consolation, were it only that of seeing Lorenzo when " he returned to his house; but here we are in continual " anxiety, and I, for my part, am half dead with solitude " and weariness. The plague and the war are incessantly " in my mind. I lament past misfortunes, and anticipate " future evils; and I have no longer at my side my dear " Madonna Lucretia, to whom I might unbosom my " cares." Such is the melancholy strain in which Politiano addresses the mother of Lorenzo; but we seldom complain except to those we esteem, and this letter is a better evidence of the feelings of Politiano, than a volume of well-turned compliments.

Dissensions between Politiano and Madonna Clarice.

In conciliating the regard of Clarice, Politiano was not equally fortunate. Her interference with him in his office, appeared to him as an unpardonable intrusion. " As for Giovanni," says he, " his mother employs him " in reading the psalter, which I by no means commend. " Whilst she declined interfering with him, it is astonish- " ing how rapidly he improved, insomuch that he read " without any assistance. There is nothing," he proceeds, " which I ask more earnestly of Heaven, than that I may " be able to convince you of my fidelity, my diligence, " and my patience, which I would prove even by my " death. Many things however I omit, that amidst your " numerous

" numerous avocations I may not add to your solicitude." When Politiano wrote thus to his patron, it is not to be supposed that his conduct at Caffagiolo was distinguished by moderation or complacency. The dissensions between him and Madonna Clarice consequently increased, till at length the intemperance or the arrogance of Politiano afforded her a just pretext for compelling him to quit the house. By a letter from Clarice to her husband on this occasion, we are informed of the provocation which she received, and must confess that she had sufficient cause for the measures she adopted; for what woman can bear with patience the stings of ridicule (*a*)? " I shall be glad," says she, " to escape being made the subject of a tale of Franco's, as " Luigi Pulci was; nor do I like that Messer Agnolo should " threaten that he would remain in the house in spite of " me. You remember I told you, that if it was your will " he should stay, I was perfectly contented; and although " I have suffered infinite abuse from him, yet if it be with " your assent, I am satisfied. But I do not believe it to be " so." On this trying occasion, as on many others, Politiano experienced the indulgence and friendship of Lorenzo, who, seeing that a reconciliation between the contending parties was impracticable, allowed the banished scholar a residence in his house at Fiesole. No longer fretted by female opposition, or wearied with the monotonous task of inculcating learning, his mind soon recovered its natural tone; and the fruits of the leisure which he enjoyed yet appear in a beautiful Latin poem, inferior in its kind only to the

Politiano retires to Fiesole, and writes his poem intitled *Rusticus*.

(*a*) The letter of Clarice to her husband is given in the Appendix, *No.* LXI.

the Georgics of Virgil, and to which he gave the title of *Rusticus*. In the close of this poem, he thus expresses his gratitude to his constant benefactor:

Talia FESULEO lentus meditabar in antro,
Rure sub urbano Medicum, qua mons sacer urbem
Mæoniam, longique volumina despicit ARNI.
Qua bonus hospitium felix, placidamque quietem
Indulget LAURENS, LAURENS haud ultima Phœbi
Gloria, jactatis LAURENS fida anchora musis;
Qui si certa magis permiserit otia nobis,
Afflabor majore Deo.——

Thus flow the strains, whilst here at ease reclin'd
At length the sweets of calm repose I find;
Where FESULÉ, with high impending brow,
O'erlooks Mæonian FLORENCE stretch'd below.
Whilst ARNO, winding through the mild domain,
Leads in repeated folds his lengthen'd train;
Nor thou thy poet's grateful strain refuse,
LORENZO! sure resource of every muse;
Whose praise, so thou his leisure hour prolong,
Shall claim the tribute of a nobler song.

Were we to give implicit credit to the testimony of his tutor, Piero de' Medici united in himself all the great qualities by which his progenitors had been successively distinguished: "The talents of his father, the virtues of his "grandfather, and the prudence of the venerable Cos-"mo (*a*)." Lorenzo himself had certainly formed a favourable

Piero de' Medici.

(*a*) Scis autem quam gratus multitudini sit & civibus, Petrus noster, non

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favourable opinion of his capacity; and is said to have remarked that his eldest son would be distinguished for ability, his second for probity, his third by an amiable temper (*a*). The fondness of a parent was gratified in observing those instances of an extraordinary memory, which Piero displayed in his childhood, and in listening to the poetical pieces which he was accustomed to recite to the familiar circle of friends, who perhaps admired, and certainly applauded his efforts. Among these were some of the whimsical productions of Matteo Franco (*b*). As he advanced in years, his father was desirous that he should always participate in the conversation of those eminent scholars who frequented the palace of the Medici; and it was with pleasure that Lorenzo saw the mutual attachment that subsisted between his son and the professors of literature in general (*c*). The celebrated epistles of Politiano, which were

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minus jam sua, quam familiæ gloria; scilicet in quo Patris ingenium, Patrui virtus, Patrui magni humanitas, Avi probitas, Proavi prudentia, pietas Abavi reviviscit: omnium vero majorum suorum liberalitas, omniumque animus. *Pol. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 6.

(*a*) *Valeri in vitâ Laur. p.* 64.

(*b*) Quin idem parens tuus, penè infantem adhuc te, quaedam ex his (Franci carminibus) facetiora, ridiculi gratia docebat, quæ tu deinde inter adductus amicos balbutiebas, & eleganti quodam gestu, qui quidem illam deceret aetatulam, commendabas. *Pol. Ep. ad Pet. Med. lib.* x. *Ep.* 12.

(*c*) Landino, in his dedication of the works of Virgil to Piero de' Medici, thus adverts to the attention of Lorenzo to the education of his children, and particularly of Piero: "Plurima sunt quæ in illo (Laurentio) admirer; sed "illud præ ceteris, quod in liberis educandis indulgentioris quidem parentis "numquam, optimi vero ac sapientissimi semper, summa sedulitate officium "compleverit. In te vero informando, atque erudiendo, quid unquam omisit?

were collected by their author at the instance of Piero, and to whom they are inscribed in terms of grateful affection, bear ample testimony to his acquirements; and the frequent mention made of his name by the learned correspondents of Politiano, is a convincing proof of his attention to their interests, and his attachment to the cause of letters. Happy if the day that opened with such promising appearances had not been so suddenly overclouded;

——*Sed zephyri spes portavere paternas.*

and Piero, by one inconsiderate step, which his subsequent efforts could never retrieve, rendered ineffectual all the solicitude of his father, and all the lessons of his youth.

Giovanni de' Medici.

Giovanni, the second son of Lorenzo, was destined from his infancy to the church. Early brought forward into public view, and strongly impressed with a sense of the necessity of a grave deportment, he seems never to have been a child. At seven years of age he was admitted into holy orders, and received the tonsura from Gentile, bishop of Arezzo. From thenceforth he was called Messer Giovanni, and was soon afterwards declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. Before he was eight years of age he was appointed by Louis XI. of France, abbot of

" Nam quamvis ipse per se quotidie admoneret, præciperet, ac juberet, tamen " cum sciret quanti esset, ne a Præceptoris latere umquam discederes, ex omni " hominum doctorum copia, Angelum Politianum elegit, virum multa ac " varia doctrina eruditum, Poetam vero egregium, egregiumque Oratorem, ac " denique totius antiquitatis diligentem perscrutatorem cui puerilem ætatem " tuam & optimis moribus fingendam, & optimis artibus ac disciplinis exco- " lendam traderet." *Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v.* i. *p.* 222. *in not.*

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of Fonte Dolce, which was immediately succeeded by a presentation from the same patron, to the archbishopric of Aix in Provence; but in this instance the liberality of the king was opposed by an invincible objection, for before the investiture could be obtained from the pope, information was received at Florence that the archbishop was yet living. This disappointment was however compensated by the abbacy of the rich monastery of Pasignano (*a*). Of the glaring indecorum of bestowing spiritual functions on a child, Lorenzo was fully sensible, and he accordingly endeavoured to counteract the unfavourable impression which it might make on the public mind, by inculcating upon his son the strictest attention to his manners, his morals, and his improvement. He had too much sagacity not to be convinced, that the surest method of obtaining the rewards of merit is to deserve them; and Messer Giovanni was not more distinguished from his youthful associates by the high promotions which he enjoyed, than he was by his attention to his studies, his strict performance of the duties injoined him, and his inviolable regard to truth.

Lorenzo discharges his debts, and quits commerce for agriculture.

In providing for the expences of the wars in which the Florentines had been engaged, considerable debts had been incurred; and as they had not yet learnt the destructive expedient of anticipating their future revenue, or transferring their own burthens to their posterity, it became necessary to

(*a*) These particulars are circumstantially related in the Ricordi of Lorenzo, who seems to have interested himself in the early promotion of his son with uncommon earnestness. *v. App. No.* LXII.

to provide for the payment of these demands. Besides the debts contracted in the name of the republic, Lorenzo had been obliged to have recourse to his agents in different countries to borrow large sums of money, which had been applied to the exigencies of the state; but it was no improbable conjecture, that the money which had been lavishly expended during the heat of the contest would be repaid with reluctance when the struggle was over. These considerations occasioned him great anxiety; for whilst on the one hand he dreaded the disgrace of being wanting in the performance of his pecuniary engagements, he was not perhaps less apprehensive on the other hand of diminishing his influence in Florence, by the imposition of additional taxes. From this difficulty he saw no possibility of extricating himself, but by the most rigid attention, as well to the improvement of the public revenue, as to the state of his own concerns. The increasing prosperity of the city of Florence seconded his efforts, and in a short time the creditors of the state were fully reimbursed, without any increase of the public burthens. His own engagements yet remained incomplete; but whilst he was endeavouring, from his large property and extensive concerns, to discharge the demands against him, a decree providing for the payment of his debts out of the public treasury relieved him from his difficulties, and proved that the affection of his fellow-citizens yet remained unimpaired (*a*). Lorenzo did not however receive this mark of esteem, without bitterly exclaiming against the negligence and imprudence of his factors and correspondents, who, by their

(*a*) *Valori in vitâ Laur. p.* 38.

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their inattention to his affairs, had reduced him to the necessity of accepting such a favour. From this period he determined to close his mercantile concerns with all possible expedition, well considering, that besides the inherent uncertainty of these transactions, the success of them depended too much on the industry and integrity of others. He therefore resolved to turn his attention to occupations more particularly under his own inspection, and to relinquish the fluctuating advantages of commerce, for the more certain revenue derived from the cultivation of his rich farms and extensive possessions in different parts of Tuscany.

Villa of Poggio-Cajano.

His villa of Poggio-Cajano was, in his intervals of leisure, his favourite residence. Here he erected a magnificent mansion (*a*), and formed the complete establishment of a princely farmer. Of this fertile domain, and of the labours of Lorenzo in its cultivation and improvement, one of his contemporaries has left a very particular and authentic description (*b*). "The village of Cajano," says he, "is "built on the easy slope of a hill, and is at the distance of "about ten miles from Florence. The road to it from the "city is very spacious, and excellent even in winter, and is

(*a*) ——Medicum quid tecta superba,
Carregi, & Trebii: Fesulana aut condita rupe
Commemorem? jures Luculli tecta superba:
Quæque sine exemplo *Cajana* palatia *Laurens*
Aedificat, quorum scandet fastigia, tanquam
Per planum iret eques, partesque equitabit in omnes.
Ug. Verini de illust. Urb. lib. ii.

(*b*) *Mic. Verini Ep.* xvi. *ap. Band. Cat. Bib. Laur. v.* iii. *p.* 483.

" is in every respect suitable for all kinds of carriages. " The river Ombrone winds round it with a smooth deep " stream, affording great plenty of fish. The villa of " Lorenzo is denominated *Ambra*, either from the name " of the river, or on account of its extraordinary beauty. " His fields are occasionally refreshed with streams of fine " and wholesome water, which Lorenzo, with that mag- " nificence which characterizes all his undertakings, has " conveyed by an aqueduct over mountains and precipices " for many miles (*a*). The house is not yet built, but the " foundations are laid. Its situation is midway between " Florence and Pistoia. Towards the north, a spacious " plain extends to the river, and is protected from the " floods, which sudden rains sometimes occasion, by an " immense embankment. From the facility with which " it is watered in summer, it is so fertile, that three crops " of hay are cut in each year; but it is manured every " other year lest the soil should be exhausted. On an " eminence about the middle of the farm are very exten- " sive stables, the floors of which, for the sake of clean- " liness,

(*a*) This aqueduct is frequently celebrated in the poems of Politiano.

In fontem Laurentii Medicis Ambram.

" Ut lasciva suo furtim daret oscula Lauro,
" Ipsa sibi occultas repperit Ambra vias."

And again,

In eumdem.

" Traxit amatrices hæc usque ad limina Nymphas,
" Dum jactat Laurum sæpius Ambra suum."

" liness, are laid with stone. These buildings are sur-
" rounded with high walls and a deep moat, and have
" four towers like a castle. Here are kept a great num-
" ber of most fertile and productive cows, which afford a
" quantity of cheese, equal to the supply of the city and
" vicinity of Florence; so that it is now no longer ne-
" cessary to procure it as formerly from Lombardy. A
" brood of hogs fed by the whey grow to a remarkable
" size. The villa abounds with quails, and other birds,
" particularly water fowl, so that the diversion of fowl-
" ing is enjoyed here without fatigue. Lorenzo has also
" furnished the woods with pheasants and with peacocks
" which he procured from Sicily. His orchards and gar-
" dens are most luxuriant, extending along the banks of
" the river. His plantation of mulberry trees is of such
" extent, that we may hope ere long to have a diminution
" in the price of silk. But why should I proceed in my
" description? come and see the place yourself; and you
" will acknowledge, like the queen of Sheba when she
" visited Solomon, that the report is not adequate to the
" truth."

Like the gardens of Alcinous, the farm of Lorenzo has frequently been celebrated in the language of poetry. To his own poem, on the destruction of his labours by the violence of the river, we have before adverted (*a*). Politiano thus concludes his Sylva devoted to the praises of Homer,

(*a*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 280. and *v.* the poem of *Ambra* at the close of this volume.

Homer, to which, on account of its having been written at this place, he has given the name of *Ambra* (*a*):

Macte opibus, macte ingenio, mea gloria LAURENS,
Gloria musarum LAURENS! montesque propinquos
Perfodis, et longo suspensos excipis arcu,
Prægelidas ducturus aquas, qua prata supinum
Lata videt podium, riguis uberrima lymphis;
Aggere tuta novo, piscosisque undique septa
Limitibus, per quæ multo servante molosso
Plena Tarentinis succrescunt ubera vaccis;
Atque aliud nigris missum (quis credat) ab Indis,
Ruminat ignotas armentum discolor herbas.
At vituli tepidis clausi fœnilibus intus,
Expectant tota sugendas nocte parentes.
Interea magnis lac densum bullit ahenis,
Brachiaque exertus senior, tunicataque pubes
Comprimit, et longa siccandum ponit in umbra.
Utque piæ pascuntur oves, ita vastus obeso
Corpore, sus calaber cavea stat clausus olenti,
Atque aliam ex alia poscit grunnitibus escam.
Celtiber ecce sibi latebrosa cuniculus antra
Perforat; innumerus net serica vellera bombyx;
At vaga floriferos errant dispersa per hortos,
Multiforumque replent operosa examina suber;

Et

(*a*) Politiano addressed this poem to Lorenzo Tornabuoni, the cousin of Lorenzo de' Medici, of whom a very favourable character may be found in the letters of Politiano (*Lib.* xii. *Ep.* 6.). "Debetur hæc silva tibi, vel argumento, vel titulo, nam et Homeri studiosus es, quasique noster consectaneus, et propinquus Laurenti Medicis, summi præcellentisque viri, qui scilicet Ambram ipsam Cajanam, prædium (ut ita dixerim) omniferum, quasi pro laxamento sibi delegit civilium laborum. Tibi ergo poemation hoc qualecunque est, nuncupamus, &c." Pridie nonas Nov. MCCCCLXXXV.

Et genus omne avium captivis instrepit alis.
Dumque Antenorei volucris cristata Timavi
Parturit, et custos capitoli gramina tondet,
Multa lacu se mersat anas, subitaque volantes
Nube diem fuscant Veneris tutela columbæ.

Go on, LORENZO, thou the muse's pride,
Pierce the hard rock and scoop the mountain's side;
The distant streams ſhall hear thy potent call,
And the proud arch receive them as they fall.
Thence o'er thy fields the genial waters lead,
That with luxuriant verdure crown the mead.
There rise thy mounds th' opposing flood that ward,
There thy domains thy faithful mastives guard.
Tarentum there her horned cattle sends,
Whose swelling teats the milky rill distends;
There India's breed of various colours range,
Pleas'd with the novel scene and pastures strange,
Whilst nightly clos'd within their shelter'd stall,
For the due treat their lowing offspring call.
Mean time the milk in spacious coppers boils,
With arms upstript the elder rustic toils,
The young assist the curdled mass to squeeze,
And place in cooling shades the recent cheese.
Wide o'er thy downs extends thy fleecy charge;
There the Calabrian hog obese and large,
Loud from his stye demands his constant food;
And Spain supplies thee with thy rabbit brood.
Where mulberry groves their length of shadow spread,
Secure the silk-worm spins his lustrous thread;
And cull'd from every flower the plunderer meets,
The bee regales thee with her rifled sweets.
There birds of various plume, and various note,
Flutter their captive wings; with cackling throat

The Paduan fowl betrays her future breed,
And there the geese, once Rome's preservers, feed,
And ducks amusive sport amidst thy floods,
And doves, the pride of Venus, throng thy woods.

When Lorenzo was prevented by his numerous avocations from enjoying his retreat at Poggio-Cajano, his other villas in the vicinity of Florence afforded him an opportunity of devoting to his own use, or the society of his friends, those shorter intervals of time which he could withdraw from the service of the public. His residence at Careggi was in every respect suitable to his rank. The house, which was erected by his grandfather, and enlarged by his father, was sufficiently commodious. The adjacent grounds, which possessed every natural advantage that wood and water could afford, were improved and planted under his own directions (*a*), and his gardens were provided with every vegetable, either for ornament or use, which the Careggi

(*a*) These particulars are adverted to in the following lines of Francesco Camerlini:

Allusio in Villam Caregium Laurentii Medices.

Caregium gratæ charites habitare feruntur,
Gratus ager, chari gratior umbra loci,
Cosmus honos, patriæque pater construxerat aedes,
Disposuitque emptos ordine primus agros.
Degener haud tanto natus Petrus inde parenti,
Curavit partes amplificare suas.
Vixque tibi, Laurens, in tanta mole reliquit
Quod peragas, nisi quod maxima semper agis,
Tu dignos Faunis lucos, fontesque Napaeis
Struxisti, et deceant quæ modo rura Deos.

Band. Cat. Bib. Laur. v. iii. *p.* 545.

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Fiesole.

the most diligent research could supply (*a*). But Fiesole seems to have been the general resort of his literary friends, to many of whom he allotted habitations in the neighbourhood, during the amenity of the summer months. Of these Politiano and Pico were the most constant, and perhaps the most welcome guests. Landino, Scala, and Ficino were also frequent in their visits; and Crinitus, the pupil of Politiano, and Marullus, his rival in letters and in love, were occasionally admitted to this select society (*b*). "Superior perhaps," says Voltaire (substituting however Lascar and Chalcondyles, for Scala and Crinitus), "to that "of the boasted sages of Greece." Of the beauties of this place,

(*a*) This was perhaps one of the earliest collections of plants in Europe, which deserves the name of a Botanical Garden; the authority of Sabbati, who dates the commencement of that at Rome in the pontificate of Nicholas V. about the year 1450, being rejected by our eminent botanist Dr. Smith; who gives the priority to that of Padua in 1533. *v. Sabb. Hort. Rom. v.* i. *p.* 1. *Dr. Smith's Introduct. Discourse to the Transact. of the Linn. Soc. p.* 8. Of the garden of Lorenzo a very particular account is given by Alessandro Braccio in a Latin poem addressed to Bernardo Bembo, and preserved in the Laurentian Library, *Plut.* lxxxxi. *sup. cod.* 41. *Band. Cat. v.* iii. *p.* 787.; from which catalogue I shall insert it in the Appendix, *No.* LXIII.

(*b*) Petrus Crinitus (or Piero de' Ricci) thus addresses Marullus:

Nuper Fæsuleis (ut soleo) jugis,
Mentem Lesbiaco carmine molliter
Solari libuit: mox teneram chelyn,
Myrto sub virido deposui, et gradum,
Placuit ad urbem flectere,
Qua noster *Medices* pieridum Parens
Marulle, hospitium dulce tibi exhibet,
Ac te perpetuis muneribus fovens,
Phœbum non patitur tela resumere.
Laurens Camœnarum decus.

Crin. op. Lugd. 1554. *p.* 553.

place, and of the friendly intercourse that subsisted among these eminent men, Politiano, in a letter to Ficino, gives us some idea (*a*). "When you are incommoded," says he, "with the heat of the season in your retreat at Careggi, you "will perhaps think the shelter of Fiesole not undeserving "your notice. Seated between the sloping sides of the "mountain, we have here water in abundance, and being "constantly refreshed with moderate winds, find little "inconvenience from the glare of the sun. As you "approach the house it seems embosomed in the wood, "but when you reach it, you find it commands a full "prospect of the city. Populous as the vicinity is, "yet I can here enjoy that solitude so gratifying to my "disposition. But I shall tempt you with other allure-"ments. Wandering beyond the limits of his own plant-"ation, Pico sometimes steals unexpectedly on my re-"tirement, and draws me from my shades to partake of "his supper. What kind of supper that is you well "know; sparing indeed, but neat, and rendered grate-"ful by the charms of his conversation. Be you how-"ever my guest. Your supper here shall be as good, and "your wine perhaps better, for in the quality of my wine "I shall contend for superiority even with Pico himself."

Other domains.

Besides his places of residence before noticed, Lorenzo had large possessions in different parts of Tuscany. His house at Caffagiolo, near the village of that name among the romantic scenes of the Appenines, had been the favourite residence of his grandfather Cosmo; who, on being asked why he

(*a*) *Pol. Ep. lib.* x. *Ep.* 14.

he preferred this place to his more convenient habitation at Fiesole, is said to have assigned as a reason, that Caffagiolo seemed pleasanter, because all the country he could see from his windows was his own. At Agnana, in the territory of Pisa, Lorenzo had a fertile domain, which he improved by draining and bringing into cultivation the extensive marshes that lay in its neighbourhood, the completion of which was only prevented by his death (*a*). Another estate in the district of Volterra was rendered extremely fruitful by his labours, and yielded him an ample revenue. Valori relates, that Lorenzo was highly gratified with the amusement of horse-racing, and that he kept many horses for this purpose, amongst which was a roan, that on every occasion bore away the prize. The same author professes to have heard from Politiano, that as often as this horse happened to be sick, or was wearied with the course, he refused any nourishment except from the hands of Lorenzo, at whose approach he testified his pleasure by neighing and by motions of his body, even whilst lying on the ground; so that it is not to be wondered at, says this author, by a kind of commendation rather more striking than just, that Lorenzo should be the delight of mankind, when even the brute creation expressed an affection for him (*b*).

In

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 39.

(*b*) Delectabatur maxime equorum cursu. Quare equos plurimos habuit in delitiis, in quibus ille fuit, quem de colore morellum appellabant, tantae pernicitatis, ut ex omnibus certaminibus victoriam semper reportaverit. De hoc equo ipse a Politiano audivi, quod mirum legentibus videatur, non tamen novum, eum, quoties vel aegrotaret, vel defessus esset, nisi a Laurentio oblatum cibum omnem fastidire solitum, & quotiescumque ille accederet, motu

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In the year 1484, at which time Piero de' Medici, the eldest son of Lorenzo, was about fourteen years of age, his father judged it expedient to send him to Rome on a visit to the pope, and appointed Scala and Politiano as his companions. He did not however implicitly confide in their discretion, but drew up himself very full and explicit directions for the conduct of his son during his absence. These instructions yet remain, and may serve, as much as any circumstance whatever, to give us an idea of the sagacity and penetration of Lorenzo, and of his attention, not only to the regulation of the manners of his son, but to the promotion of his own views (*a*). He advises him to speak naturally, without affectation, not to be anxious to display his learning, to use expressions of civility, and to address himself with seriousness, and yet with ease to all. On his arrival at Rome, he cautions him not to take precedence of his countrymen who are his superiors in age; "for though you "are my son," says he, "you will remember that you "are only a citizen of Florence like themselves." He suggests to him what topics it will be proper for him to dwell upon in his interview with the pope; and directs him to express, in the most explicit manner, the devotion of his father to the holy see. He then proceeds to the essential object of his mission. "After having thus recommended "me

Piero de' Medici visits the pope.

corporis, & hinnitu, quamvis humi prostratum, animi laetitiam fuisse testatum, ut non jam mirum sit tantopere hominibus gratum, quem etiam ferae dilexerint. *Valer. in vitâ, p.* 49.

(*a*) This curious paper of private instructions from Lorenzo to his son yet remains, and is given in the Appendix, from the collection of Fabroni (*No.* LXIV.).

" me to his holiness, you will inform him, that your affection for your brother induces you to speak a word in his favour. You can here mention that I have educated him for the priesthood, and shall closely attend to his learning and his manners, so that he may not disgrace his profession. That in this respect I repose all my hopes on his holiness; who, having already given us proofs of his kindness and affection, will add to our obligations by any promotion which he may think proper to bestow upon him. Endeavouring by these and similar expressions to recommend your brother to his favour as much as lies in your power."

Giovanni de' Medici raised to the dignity of a cardinal.

In whatever manner Piero acquitted himself on his youthful embassy, it is probable that this interview accomplished the object on which the future fortunes of his house were so materially to depend, and Giovanni de' Medici, when only thirteen years of age, ranked with the prime supporters of the Roman church. It seems, however, that although the pope had complied with the pressing instances of Lorenzo, in bestowing on his son the dignity of a cardinal, he was not insensible of the indecorum of such a measure, for he expressly prohibited him from assuming the insignia of his rank for three years, requesting that he would apply that interval to the diligent prosecution of his studies. He accordingly went to Pisa, where the regularity of his conduct, and his attention to his improvement, justified in some degree the extraordinary indulgence which he had experienced; in consequence of which his father made the most pressing instances to the pope to shorten the term of his probation. " Trust the

" management

" management of this business to me," said Innocent, " I have heard of his good conduct, and of the honours " which he has obtained in his college disputes. I consider " him as my own son, and shall, when it is least expected, " order his promotion to be made public; besides which, " it is my intention to do much more for his advance- " ment than is at present supposed." The three years were, however, suffered to elapse, and the young cardinal was then admitted to all the honours of his rank, the investiture having been performed by Matteo Bosso, prior of the monastery at Fiesole, who has left, in one of his letters, a particular narrative of the ceremony (*a*). After passing a few days with his father at Florence, Giovanni hastened to Rome to pay his respects to the pope. On his approach to that city he was met and congratulated by several other cardinals, who made no hesitation in receiving into their number so young an associate. By the seriousness and propriety of his demeanor, he obviated as much as possible the unfavourable impression which a promotion so unprecedented had made on the public mind. Soon after his arrival at Rome, his father addressed to him an admonitory letter, as conspicuous for sound sense as for paternal affection; but which discovers the deep policy of Lorenzo, and the great extent of his views. This letter may, without any unreasonable assumption, be considered as the guide of the future life and fortunes of a son, who afterwards attained the highest rank in Christendom, and supported it with a dignity which gave it new lustre (*b*).

Lorenzo

(*a*) *Recuperationes Fesulanæ. Ep.* cx. As the work does not frequently occur, I shall give this letter in the Appendix, No. LXV.

(*b*) The original will be found in the Appendix, No. LXVI. " Hæc

Lorenzo de' Medici,

To Giovanni de' Medici, Cardinal.

Admonitory letter of Lorenzo.

" You, and all of us who are interested in your wel-
" fare, ought to esteem ourselves highly favoured by pro-
" vidence, not only for the many honours and benefits be-
" stowed on our house, but more particularly for having
" conferred upon us, in your person, the greatest dignity
" we have ever enjoyed. This favour, in itself so im-
" portant, is rendered still more so by the circumstances
" with which it is accompanied, and especially by the con-
" sideration of your youth, and of our situation in the
" world. The first thing that I would therefore suggest to
" you is, that you ought to be grateful to God, and con-
" tinually to recollect that it is not through your merits,
" your prudence, or your solicitude, that this event has
" taken place, but through his favour, which you can only
" repay by a pious, chaste, and exemplary life; and that
" your obligations to the performance of these duties are
" so much the greater, as in your early years you have
" given some reasonable expectation that your riper age
" may produce such fruits. It would indeed be highly dis-
" graceful, and as contrary to your duty as to my hopes,
" if at a time when others display a greater share of rea-
" son, and adopt a better mode of life, you should forget
" the precepts of your youth, and forsake the path in
" which you have hitherto trodden. Endeavour there-
" fore

" epistola," says Fabroni, " tanquam Cycnea fuit prudentissimi hominis vox
" et orationis; paullo enim post ille mortem obivit." *Fabr. in vitâ,* ii. 313.

" fore to alleviate the burthen of your early dignity, by " the regularity of your life, and by your perseverance " in those studies which are suitable to your profession. " It gave me great satisfaction to learn, that, in the course " of the past year, you had frequently, of your own ac- " cord, gone to communion and confession; nor do I " conceive that there is any better way of obtaining the " favour of heaven, than by habituating yourself to a " performance of these and similar duties. This appears " to me to be the most suitable and useful advice which, " in the first instance, I can possibly give you.

" I well know, that as you are now to reside at Rome, " that sink of all iniquity, the difficulty of conducting " yourself by these admonitions will be increased. The " influence of example is itself prevalent; but you will " probably meet with those who will particularly endea- " vour to corrupt and incite you to vice; because, as you " may yourself perceive, your early attainment to so great " a dignity is not observed without envy, and those who " could not prevent your receiving that honour, will se- " cretly endeavour to diminish it, by inducing you to for- " feit the good estimation of the public; thereby precipi- " tating you into that gulf into which they have them- " selves fallen; in which attempt the consideration of " your youth will give them a confidence of success. " To these difficulties you ought to oppose yourself with " the greater firmness, as there is at present less virtue " amongst your brethren of the college. I acknowledge " indeed that several of them are good and learned men, " whose lives are exemplary, and whom I would recom-

" mend to you as patterns of your conduct. By emulat-
" ing them you will be so much the more known and
" esteemed, in proportion as your age, and the peculiarity
" of your situation, will distinguish you from your col-
" leagues. Avoid however, as you would Scylla or Cha-
" ribdis, the imputation of hypocrisy; guard against all
" ostentation, either in your conduct or your discourse;
" affect not austerity, nor even appear too serious. This
" advice you will, I hope, in time understand and practise
" better than I can express it.

" You are not unacquainted with the great importance
" of the character which you have to sustain, for you well
" know that all the Christian world would prosper if the
" cardinals were what they ought to be; because in such a
" case there would always be a good pope, upon which the
" tranquillity of Christendom so materially depends. En-
" deavour then to render yourself such, that if all the rest
" resembled you, we might expect this universal blessing.
" To give you particular directions as to your behaviour
" and conversation, would be a matter of no small diffi-
" culty. I shall therefore only recommend, that in your
" intercourse with the cardinals, and other men of rank,
" your language be unassuming and respectful, guiding
" yourself however by your own reason, and not submit-
" ting to be impelled by the passions of others, who,
" actuated by improper motives, may pervert the use
" of their reason. Let it satisfy your conscience that
" your conversation is without intentional offence; and
" if, through impetuosity of temper, any one should be
" offended, as his enmity is without just cause, so it will
" not

" not be very lasting. On this your first visit to Rome, " it will however be more advisable for you to listen to " others than to speak much yourself.

" You are now devoted to God and the church; on " which account you ought to aim at being a good eccle- " siastic, and to shew that you prefer the honour and state " of the church, and of the apostolic see, to every other " consideration. Nor, while you keep this in view, will it " be difficult for you to favour your family and your native " place. On the contrary, you should be the link to bind " this city closer to the church, and our family with the " city; and although it be impossible to foresee what " accidents may happen, yet I doubt not but this may be " done with equal advantage to all; observing, however, " that you are always to prefer the interests of the church.

" You are not only the youngest cardinal in the col- " lege, but the youngest person that ever was raised to that " rank; and you ought therefore to be the most vigilant " and unassuming, not giving others occasion to wait " for you either in the chapel, the consistory, or upon de- " putations. You will soon get a sufficient insight into the " manners of your brethren. With those of less respectable " character, converse not with too much intimacy; not " merely on account of the circumstance in itself, but for " the sake of public opinion. Converse on general topics " with all. On public occasions let your equipage and " dress be rather below than above mediocrity. A hand- " some house and a well-ordered family will be preferable " to a great retinue and a splendid residence. Endeavour

" to live with regularity, and gradually to bring your ex-
" pences within those bounds which in a new establish-
" ment cannot perhaps be expected. Silk and jewels are
" not suitable for persons in your station. Your taste will
" be better shewn in the acquisition of a few elegant re-
" mains of antiquity, or in the collecting of handsome
" books, and by your attendants being learned and well-
" bred rather than numerous. Invite others to your house
" oftener than you receive invitations. Practise neither
" too frequently. Let your own food be plain, and take
" sufficient exercise, for those who wear your habit are
" soon liable, without great caution, to contract infirmities.
" The station of a cardinal is not less secure than elevated;
" on which account those who arrive at it too frequently
" become negligent, conceiving that their object is attained
" and that they can preserve it with little trouble. This
" idea is often injurious to the life and character of those
" who entertain it. Be attentive therefore to your con-
" duct, and confide in others too little rather than too
" much. There is one rule which I would recommend to
" your attention in preference to all others: Rise early in
" the morning. This will not only contribute to your
" health, but will enable you to arrange and expedite the
" business of the day; and as there are various duties inci-
" dent to your station, such as the performance of divine
" service, studying, giving audience, &c. you will find
" the observance of this admonition productive of the
" greatest utility. Another very necessary precaution,
" particularly on your entrance into public life, is to
" deliberate every evening on what you have to perform
" the following day, that you may not be unprepared for
" whatever

" whatever may happen. With respect to your speaking " in the consistory, it will be most becoming for you at " present to refer the matters in debate to the judgment " of his holiness, alledging as a reason your own youth " and inexperience. You will probably be desired to in- " tercede for the favours of the pope on particular occa- " sions. Be cautious however that you trouble him not " too often; for his temper leads him to be most liberal " to those who weary him least with their solicitations. " This you must observe, lest you should give him offence, " remembering also at times to converse with him on " more agreeable topics; and if you should be obliged to " request some kindness from him, let it be done with " that modesty and humility which are so pleasing to his " disposition. Farewell."

Piero de' Medici marries Alfonsina Orsini.

As the policy of Lorenzo led him to support a powerful influence at Rome, and as he had frequently experienced the good effects of the connexion which subsisted between him and the family of the Orsini, he thought it advisable to strengthen it; and accordingly proposed a marriage between his son Piero, and Alfonsina, the daughter of Roberto Orsini, count of Tagliacozzo and Albi. This proposal was eagerly listened to by Virginio Orsini, who was then considered as the head of that powerful family, the chiefs of which, though subordinate to the pope, scarcely considered themselves as subjects, and frequently acted with the independence of sovereign princes. In the month of March 1487, these nuptials were celebrated at Naples, in the presence of the king and his court, with extraordinary

nary pomp (*a*). Lorenzo, on his marriage with Clarice Orsini, had received no portion; but the reputation which he had now acquired was more than an equivalent for the pride of ancestry, and Virginio agreed to pay 12,000 Neapolitan ducats as a portion with his daughter (*b*). On this occasion Piero was accompanied by Bernardo Rucellai, who had married Nannina, one of the sisters of Lorenzo, and who has not only signalized himself as a protector of learned men, but was himself one of the most accomplished scholars of his time (*c*).

The

(*a*) Si fece lo sposalitio in Castello, nella Sala grande, presente il Re e tutta la Corte, con gran cena e festa. Il Re non potea fare maggiori dimostrazioni verso el Sig. Virginio. *Bern. Oricellarii Ep. ap. Fabr. v.* ii. *p.* 316.

(*b*) *Extant in Filz.* 1. I capitoli di matrimonio tra l' Alfonsina de Ursinis figlia del quondam Roberto de Ursinis conte di Tagliacozzo e d' Albi, e Piero de' Medici, comparente Virginio de Ursinis fratel consobrino. Dos fuit Ducatorum Neapolitanorum 12,000. *Fabr. ut sup.*

(*c*) The talents and acquirements of Rucellai justly entitled him to the honour of so near an alliance with the family of the Medici. His public life has indeed incurred the censure of the Florentine historians of the succeeding century, who wrote under the pressure of a despotic government; but it is not difficult to perceive that his crime was an ardent love of liberty, which he preferred to the claims of kindred, and the expectations of personal aggrandizement. *Ammir. Opusc. vol.* ii. *Elog.* ii. 161. *Comment. di Nerli. p.* 64. His Latin historical works, "*De Bello Italico*," and "*De Bello Pisano*," have merited the approbation of the discriminating Erasmus. "Novi Venetiæ," says he, "Bernardum Ocricularium (Oricellarium) cujus Historias si legisses, dixisses alterum *Sallustium*, aut certe Sallustii temporibus scriptas." *Apotheg. lib.* viii. The former of these works was first published at London by Brindley in 1724, and again by William Bowyer, with the treatise *de Bello Pisano*, in 1733. Bernardo was also a poet, and appears in the *Canti Carnascialeschi* as the author of the *Trionfo della Calunnia*. *Cant. Carnas. p.* 125. But the poetical reputation of Bernardo is eclipsed by that of his son Giovanni Rucellai, author of the tragedy of *Rosmunda*, and of that beautiful didactic poem *Le Api*, which will

The marriage of Piero de' Medici was soon afterwards followed by that of his sister Maddalena with Francesco Cibò, the son of the pope, and who then bore the title of count of Anguillara (*a*). Of the three other daughters of Lorenzo, Lucretia intermarried with Giacopo Salviati (*b*), Contessina with Piero Ridolfi, and Louisa, his youngest, after having been betrothed to Giovanni de' Medici, of a collateral branch of the same family, died before the time appointed for the nuptials (*c*).

In

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remain a lasting monument that the Italian language requires not the shackles of rhime to render it harmonious. " Hommè de Gout (says Tenhove) dans " vos promenades solitaires prenez quelquefois son poeme.

" Ed odi quel che sopra un verde prato,
" Cinto d' abeti e d' onorati allori,
" Che bagna or un muscoso e chiaro fonte,
" Canta de l' api del suo florid' orto."

(*a*) These nuptials were celebrated at Rome in the year 1488. Maddalena, who was very young, was accompanied by Matteo Franco, the facetious correspondent of Pulci, (*vol.* I. *p.* 250.) the vivacity of whose character did not prevent Lorenzo from selecting him for this important trust, in the execution of which he conciliated in a high degree the favour of the pope, and his courtiers. *Pol. Ep. lib.* x. *Ep.* 12.

(*b*) *Vide vol.* I. *p.* 206.

(*c*) Besides his three sons and four daughters before enumerated, Lorenzo had other children, all of whom died in their infancy, as appears by a letter from him to Politiano; who having occasion to acquaint him with the indisposition of some part of his family, and being fearful of alarming him, addressed his letter to Michellozzi, the secretary of Lorenzo. In his answer, Lorenzo reproves, with some degree of seriousness, the ill-timed distrust of Politiano, and with true stoical dignity, declares that it gave him more uneasiness than the intelligence that accompanied it. " Can you then conceive," says he, " that " my temper is so infirm, as to be disturbed by such an event? If my disposi- " tion had been by nature weak, and liable to be impelled by every gust, yet " experience has taught me how to brave the storm. I have not only known " what it is to bear the sickness, but even the death of some of my children.

CHAP. VIII.

Piero de' Medici visits Milan.

In the year 1488, Piero de' Medici took a journey to Milan, to be present at the celebration of the nuptials of the young duke Galeazzo Sforza, with Isabella, granddaughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples. The whole expence of this journey was defrayed by Lodovico Sforza, who paid a marked respect to Piero, and directed that he should always appear in public at the side of the duke. By a letter yet existing, from the Florentine legate to Lorenzo de' Medici, it appears that these nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence (*a*); but amidst the splendor of diamonds and the glitter of brocade, were entwined the serpents of treachery and of guilt. Even in giving the hand of Isabella to a nephew, whom he regarded rather as an implement of his ambition than as his lawful sovereign, Lodovico burnt with a criminal passion for her himself; and the gravest of the Italian historians assures us, that it was the public opinion, that he had by means of magic and incantations prevented the consummation of a marriage, which, while it promoted his political views, deprived him of the object of his love (*b*). The prejudices of the age, and the wickedness of Lodovico, sufficiently countenance the probability of such an attempt; but that the means employed were so far successful, as to prevent that circumstance

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" The untimely loss of my father when I was in my twenty-first year, left me " so much exposed to the attacks of fortune, that life became a burthen to me. " You ought therefore to have known, that if nature denied me firmness, ex- " perience has supplied the defect." *Laur. Ep. in. Ep. Pol. lib.* x. *Ep.* 5.

(*a*) *v. App. No.* LXVII.

(*b*) *Guicciard. Hist. d' Italia, lib.* i.

stance taking place for several months, is an assertion, of the veracity of which posterity may be allowed to doubt.

Of this princess an incident is recorded which does equal honour to her conjugal affection and her filial piety (*a*). When Charles VIII. of France, at the instigation of Lodovico Sforza, entered Italy, a few years after her marriage, for the avowed purpose of depriving her father of the throne of Naples, he passed through Pavia, where the young duke then lay on his death-bed, not without giving rise to suspicions that he had been poisoned. Touched with his misfortunes, and mindful of the relationship between Galeazzo and himself, who were sisters children, Charles resolved to see him. The presence of Lodovico, who did not choose to risque the consequences of a private and confidential interview, whilst it restricted the conversation of the king to formal inquiries about the health of the duke, and wishes for his recovery, excited both in him and in all present a deeper compassion for the unhappy prince. Isabella perceived the general sympathy; and throwing herself at the feet of the monarch, recommended to his protection her unfortunate husband and her infant son; at the same time, by tears and entreaties, earnestly endeavouring to turn his resentment from her father and the house of Aragon. Attracted by her beauty, and moved by her solicitations, Charles appeared for a moment to relent, and the fate of Italy was suspended in the balance; but the king recollecting the importance of his preparations, and the expectations

(*a*) *Guicciard. Hist. d' Italia, lib.* i.

pectations which his enterprize had excited, soon steeled his feelings against this feminine attack, and resolved, in spite of the suggestions of pity and the claims of humanity, to persevere in his design.

Having now secured the tranquillity of Italy and the prosperity of his family by every means that prudence could dictate, Lorenzo began to enjoy the fruits of his labours. These he found in the affection and good-will of his fellow-citizens; in observing the rapid progress of the fine arts, towards the promotion of which he had so amply contributed; in the society and conversation of men of genius and learning; and in the inexhaustible stores of knowledge with which he had enriched his own discriminating and comprehensive mind.

Learned ecclesiastics favoured by Lorenzo.

As his natural disposition, or the effects of his education, frequently led him to meditate with great seriousness on moral and religious subjects, so there were no persons for whom he entertained a greater esteem than those who adorned their character as teachers of religion by a corresponding rectitude of life and propriety of manners. Amongst these he particularly distinguished Mariano da Genazano, an Augustin monk and superior of his order, for whose use, and that of his associates, he erected in the suburbs of Florence an extensive building, which he endowed as a monastery, and to which he was himself accustomed occasionally to retire, with a few select friends, to enjoy the conversation of this learned ecclesiastic. Politiano, in the preface to his *Miscellanea*, inveighing against those who affected to consider the study of polite letters as inconsistent with the

Mariano Genazano.

the performance of sacred functions, adduces Mariano as an illustrious instance of their union. " On this account," says he to Lorenzo, " I cannot sufficiently admire your highly " esteemed friend Mariano, whose proficiency in theolo- " gical studies, and whose eloquence and address in his " public discourses, leave him without a rival. The lessons " which he inculcates derive additional authority from " his acknowledged disinterestedness, and from the severity " of his private life; yet there is nothing morose in his " temper, nothing unpleasingly austere; nor does he think " the charms of poetry, or the amusements and pursuits of " elegant literature, below his attention." In one of his letters, the same author has left a very explicit account of the talents of Mariano, as a preacher (*a*). " I was lately in- " duced," says he, " to attend one of his lectures, rather " to say the truth through curiosity, than with the hope of " being entertained. His appearance however interested " me in his favour. His address was striking, and his eye " marked intelligence. My expectations were raised. He " began—I was attentive; a clear voice—select expression " —elevated sentiment. He divides his subject—I per- " ceive his distinctions. Nothing perplexed; nothing in- " sipid; nothing languid. He unfolds the web of his ar- " gument—I am enthralled. He refutes the sophism—I " am freed. He introduces a pertinent narrative—I am " interested. He modulates his voice—I am charmed. " He is jocular—I smile. He presses me with serious " truths—I yield to their force. He addresses the pas- " sions—

(*a*) *Pol. Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 6.

CHAP. VIII.

"sions—the tears glide down my cheeks. He raises his "voice in anger—I tremble and wish myself away."

Of the particular subjects of discussion which engaged the attention of Lorenzo and his associates in their interviews at the convent of San Gallo, Valori has left some account which he derived from the information of Mariano himself. The existence and attributes of the Deity, the insufficiency of temporal enjoyments to fill the mind, and the probability and moral necessity of a future state, were to Lorenzo the favourite objects of his discourse. His own opinion was pointedly expressed. "He is dead even to this "life," said Lorenzo, "who has no hopes of another (*a*)."

Girolamo Savonarola.

Although the citizens of Florence admired the talents, and respected the virtues of Mariano, their attention was much more forcibly excited by a preacher of a very different character, who possessed himself of their confidence, and entitled himself to their homage, by foretelling their destruction. This was the famous Girolamo Savonarola, who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in the popular commotions at Florence, and contributed so essentially to the accomplishment of his own predictions. Savonarola was a native of Ferrara, but the reputation which he had acquired as a preacher, induced Lorenzo de' Medici to invite him to Florence, where he took up his residence in the year 1488 (*b*), and was appointed prior of the monastery

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ, p.* 48.

(*b*) In 1489, according to Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* v. vi. *par.* 2.

monastery of S. Marco. By pretensions to superior sanctity, and by a fervid and overpowering elocution, he soon acquired an astonishing ascendancy over the minds of the people; and in proportion as his popularity increased, his disregard of his patron became more apparent, and was soon converted into the most vindictive animosity. It had been the custom of those who had preceded Savonarola in this office, to pay particular respect to Lorenzo de' Medici, as the supporter of the institution. Savonarola however not only rejected this ceremony, as founded in adulation, but as often as Lorenzo frequented the gardens of the monastery, retired from his presence, pretending that his intercourse was with God and not with man. At the same time, in his public discourses, he omitted no opportunity of attacking the reputation and diminishing the credit of Lorenzo, by prognosticating the speedy termination of his authority, and his banishment from his native place. The divine word, from the lips of Savonarola, descended not amongst his audience like the dews of heaven; it was the piercing hail, the destroying sword, the herald of destruction. The friends of Lorenzo frequently remonstrated with him, on his suffering the monk to proceed to such an extreme of arrogance; but Lorenzo had either more indulgence or more discretion than to adopt hostile measures against a man, who, though morose and insolent, he probably considered as sincere. On the contrary, he displayed his

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p. 377.; but Savonarola himself, in his *Trattato delle Rivelatione della reformatione della Chiesa, Ven.* 1536, (if indeed the work be his,) assigns an earlier period. In this work the fanatic assumes the credit of having foretold the death of Innocent VIII., of Lorenzo de' Medici, the irruption of the French into Italy, &c.

his usual prudence and moderation, by declaring that whilst the preacher exerted himself to reform the citizens of Florence, he should readily excuse his incivility to himself. This extraordinary degree of lenity, if it had no influence on the mind of the fanatic, prevented in a great degree the ill effects of his harangues; and it was not till after the death of Lorenzo, that Savonarola excited those disturbances in Florence, which led to his own destruction, and terminated in the ruin of the republic.

Matteo Bosso.

Another ecclesiastic, whose worth and talents had conciliated the favour of Lorenzo, was Matteo Bosso, superior of the convent of regular canons at Fiesole. Not less conversant with the writings of the ancient philosophers, than with the theological studies of his own times, Bosso was a profound scholar, a close reasoner, and a convincing orator; but to these he united much higher qualifications—a candid mind, an inflexible integrity, and an interesting simplicity of life and manners. To his treatise *De veris animi gaudiis* is prefixed a recommendatory epistle from Politiano to Lorenzo de' Medici, highly favourable to the temper and character of the author (*a*). On the publication of this piece, Bosso transmitted a copy to Lorenzo, with a Latin letter, preserved in the *Recuperationes Fesulanæ*, another work of the same author, highly deserving the attention of the scholar (*b*). In this letter Bosso bears testimony

(*a*) This treatise was first published in octavo, at Florence, by Ser Francisco Bonacursi. Anno Salutis MCCCCLXXXXI. Sexto Idus Februarii. From this edition I shall give the introductory letter of Politiano. *v. App. No.* LXVIII.

(*b*) This book is estimable not only for its contents, but as being one of the

testimony to the virtues and to the piety of Lorenzo; but whether this testimony ought to be received with greater confidence, because Bosso was the confessor of Lorenzo, the reader will decide for himself.

Of these his graver associates, as well as of the companions of his lighter hours, Lorenzo was accustomed to stimulate the talents by every means in his power. His own intimate acquaintance with the tenets of the ancient philosophers, and his acute and versatile genius, enabled him to propose to their discussion, subjects of the most interesting nature, and either to take a chief part in the conversation, or to avail himself of such observations as it might occasion. It appears also, that at some times he amused himself with offering to their consideration such topics as he well knew would elude their researches, although they might exercise their powers; as men try their strength by shooting arrows towards the sky. Of this we have an instance in the sonnet addressed by him to Salviati (*a*).

"When

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finest specimens of typography of the fifteenth century. Instead of a title, we read, QUÆ HOC VOLUMINE HABENTUR VARIA DIVERSAQUE ET LONGA EX DISPERSIONE COLLECTA QUO BREVI SUB TITULO SUBJICIANTUR AC NOMINE RECUPERATIONES FESULANAS LECTOR AGNOSCITO. And at the close, RECUPERATIONES FESULANAS *has elegantissimas, opus quidem aureum et penitus divinum quam castigatissime Impressit omni solertia* PLATO DE BENEDICTIS *Bononiensis in alma civitate Bononiæ. Anno Salutis* MCCCCLXXXIII. *decimo tertio* KALENDAS AUGUSTAS. *Folio.* The letter from Bosso to Lorenzo de' Medici is given in the Appendix, *No.* LXIX.

(*a*) Lo spirito talora a se ridutto,
E dal mar tempestoso e travagliato
Fuggito in porto tranquillo e pacato,
Pensando ha dubbio e vuolne trar costrutto.

CHAP. VIII.

" When the mind," says he, " escapes from the storms " of life, to the calm haven of reflection, doubts arise " which require solution. If no one can effectually exert " himself to obtain eternal happiness, without the special " favour of God, and if that favour be only granted to " those who are well disposed towards its reception, I " wish to know whether the grace of God, or the good " disposition, first commences ?" The learned theologian to whom this captious question was addressed, took it into his serious consideration, and after dividing it into seven parts, attempted its solution in a Latin treatise of considerable extent, which is yet preserved in the Laurentian Library (*a*).

Death of Madonna Clarice.

Lorenzo was not however destined long to enjoy that tranquillity which he had so assiduously laboured to secure. His life had scarcely reached its meridian, when the prospect was overhung with dark and lowering clouds. The death of his wife Clarice, which happened in the month of August 1488, was a severe shock to his domestic happiness. He

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S'egli è ver, che da Dio proceda tutto,
E senza lui nulla è, cioè il pecato;
Per sua grazia se ci è concesso e dato
Seminar quí per corre eterno frutto;
Tal grazia in quel sol fa operazione
Ch' a riceverla è volto e ben disposto,
Dunque che cosa è quella ne dispone ?
Qual prima sia, vorrei mi fosse esposto,
O tal grazia, o la buona inclinazione:
Rispondi or tu al dubbio, ch' è proposto,

(*a*) *Georgii Benigni Salviati, in Rhythmum acutissimum magni Laurentii Medicis Quaestiones septem, &c.* PLUT. lxxxiii. *Cod.* 18.

He was then absent from Florence, and did not arrive in time to see her before she died, which it seems gave rise to insinuations that his conjugal affection was not very ardent (*a*); but the infirm state of his own health at this time had rendered it necessary for him to visit the warm baths, where he received an account of her death before he was apprized of the danger of her situation. From his youth he had been afflicted with a disorder which occasioned extreme pain in his stomach and limbs. This complaint was probably of a gouty tendency, but the then defective state of medicine rendered it impossible for him to obtain any just information respecting it. The most eminent physicians in Italy were consulted, and numerous remedies were prescribed, without producing any beneficial effect (*b*). By frequenting the tepid baths of Italy, he obtained a temporary alleviation of his sufferings; but, notwithstanding all the assistance he could procure, his complaints

(*a*) Piero da Bibbiena, the secretary of Lorenzo, writes thus to the Florentine ambassador at Rome; *Prid. Kal. Sextil.* 1488: A hore 14 morì la Clarice. Se voi sentissi che Lorenzo fosse biasimato di costà per non essersi trovato alla morte delle moglie, scusatelo. Parve al Leoni necessario, che andasse a prender l'acque della Villa, e poi non si credeva che morisse si presto.

Fabr. v. ii. *p.* 384.

(*b*) Some of these remedies are of a singular nature. Pietro Bono Avogradi, in a letter dated the eleventh of February 1488, advises Lorenzo, as a sure method of preventing a return of the *dolore di xonture*, or arthritic pains, with which he was afflicted, to make use of a stone called an heliotrope, which being set in gold, and worn on the finger so as to touch the skin, would produce the desired effect. "This," says he, "is a certain preservative against "both gout and rheumatism; I have tried it myself, and found that its pro- "perties are divine and miraculous." With the same letter he transmits to Lorenzo his *prognostics* for the year 1488. *App. No.* LXX.

complaints rather increased than diminished, and for some time before his death, he had reconciled his mind to an event which he knew could not be far distant. When his son Giovanni took his departure for Rome, to appear in the character of cardinal, Lorenzo with great affection recommended him to the care of Filippo Valori and Andrea Cambino, who were appointed to accompany him on his journey; at the same time expressing his apprehensions, which the event but too well justified, that he should see them no more (*a*).

Assassination of Girolamo Riario.

In the year 1488, Girolamo Riario, whose machinations had deprived Lorenzo of a brother, and had nearly involved Lorenzo himself in the same destruction, fell a victim to his accumulated crimes. By the assistance of Sixtus IV. he had possessed himself of a considerable territory in the vicinity of the papal state, and particularly of the cities of Imola and Forli, at the latter of which he had fixed his residence, and supported the rank of an independent prince. In order to strengthen his interest in Italy, he had connected himself with the powerful family of the Sforza, by a marriage with Caterina, sister of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, whose unhappy fate has already been related (*b*). The general tenor of the life of Riario seems to have corresponded with the specimen before exhibited. By a long course of oppression he had drawn upon himself the hatred and resentment of his subjects, whom

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 65.

(*b*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 173.

whom he had reduced to the utmost extreme of indigence and distress. Stimulated by repeated acts of barbarity, three of them resolved to assassinate him, and to trust for their safety, after the perpetration of the deed, to the opinion and support of their fellow-citizens. Although Riario was constantly attended by a band of soldiers, these men found means to enter his chamber in the palace at the hour when he had just concluded his supper. One of them having cut him across the face with a sabre, he took shelter under the table, whence he was dragged out by Lodovico Orso, another of the conspirators, who stabbed him through the body. Some of his attendants having by this time entered the room, Riario made an effort to escape at the door, but there received from the third conspirator a mortal wound. It is highly probable that he was betrayed by the guard, for these three men were even permitted to strip the dead body, and throw it through the window, when the populace immediately rose and sacked the palace. The insurgents, having secured the widow and children of Riario, were only opposed by the troops in the fortress of the town, who refused to surrender it either to their entreaties or their threats. Being required, under pain of death, to exert her influence in obtaining for the populace possession of the fortress, the princess requested that they would permit her to enter it; but no sooner was she secure within the walls than she exhorted the soldiers to its defence, and raising the standard of the duke of Milan, threatened the town with destruction. The inhabitants attempted to intimidate her by preparing to execute her children in her sight, for which purpose they erected a scaffold before the walls of the fortress; but this unmanly proceeding, instead of

awakening her affections, only excited her contempt, which she is said to have expressed in a very emphatic and extraordinary manner (*a*). By her courage the inhabitants were however resisted, until Giovanni Bentivoglio, with a body of two thousand foot and eight hundred cavalry, from Bologna, gave her effectual assistance, and being joined by a strong reinforcement from Milan, compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge as their sovereign Ottavio Riario, the eldest son of Girolamo (*b*).

Lorenzo de' Medici has not escaped the imputation of having been privy to the assassination of his old and implacable adversary; but neither the relations of contemporary historians, nor the general tenor of his life, afford a presumption on which to ground such an accusation (*c*); although it is certain, that some years previous to this

(*a*) Rispose loro quella forte femmina, che se avessero fatti perir que' figliuoli, restavano a lei le forme per farne de gli altri; e vi ha chè dice (questa giunta forse fu immaginata e non vera) aver' ella anche alzata la gonna per chiarirli, che dicea la verita. *Murat. Ann. vol.* ix. *p.* 556.

(*b*) *Chronica Bessiana, an.* 1488. *Ed.* 1492.

(*c*) " Indignum sane facinus fuit, quod in Hieronymum Riarium Comitem " admissum est; cujus participem Laurentium fuisse *multi contendunt*, & ab eo " ad ulciscendas præteritorum temporum injurias comparatum " *Fabr. in vitâ, vol.* i. *p.* 175. There is however great reason to suspect that the modern biographer of Lorenzo has inadvertently given weight and credit to an accusation, which, if established, would degrade his character to that of a treacherous assassin. In vindication of him against this charge, I must therefore observe, that of the many accusers to whom Fabroni adverts, I have not met with one of the early historians who has even glanced at Lorenzo as having been associated with the conspirators, or privy to the perpetration of the deed. Neither Machiavelli nor Ammirato, although they all relate the particulars of the

this event, he had been in treaty with the pope to deprive Riario of his usurpations, and to restore the territories occupied by him to the family of Ordolaffi, their former lords, which treaty was frustrated by the pope having insisted on annexing them to the states of the church (*a*). The conspirators however, soon after the death of Riario, apprized Lorenzo of the event, and requested his assistance; in consequence of which he dispatched one of his envoys to Forli, with a view of obtaining authentic information as to the disposition of the inhabitants, and the views of the insurgents (*b*), when finding that it was their intention to place

transaction, have implicated in it the name of Lorenzo. Muratori, whose annals are compiled from contemporary and authentic documents, and who may therefore be considered as an original writer, is equally silent on this head. The ancient chronicle of Donato Bosso, printed only four years after the event, gives a yet more particular account, but alludes not to any interposition on the part of Lorenzo; and even Raffaello Maffei, his acknowledged adversary, though he adverts to the death of Riario, attributes it only to the interference of his own subjects. It is indeeed a strong indication of the dignity of the character of Lorenzo, that a charge so natural, and so consistent with the spirit of the times, should not have been alledged against him; and having been exculpated in the eyes of his contemporaries, it is surely not for posterity to criminate him.

(*a*) *Fabron. Adnot. & Monum. v.* ii. *p.* 316.

(*b*) The letter from Lodovico and Checco d' Orsi, two of the conspirators, to Lorenzo de' Medici, written only a few days after the event, is inserted in the Appendix, and indisputably shews, that although they supposed Lorenzo would be gratified by the death of his adversary, he had no previous knowledge of such an attempt. To this I shall also subjoin the letter to Lorenzo from his envoy, which gives a minute account of the whole transaction, and by which it appears, that although the pope had incited the conspirators to the enterprize, by expressing his abhorrence of the character of Riario, yet that no other person was privy to their purpose. *App. No.* LXXI.

place themselves under the dominion of the pope, he declined any interference on their behalf, but availed himself of the opportunity of their dissensions, to restore to the Florentines the fortress of Piancaldoli, which had been wrested from them by Riario (*a*). That the assassins of Riario were suffered to escape with impunity, is perhaps the best justification of their conduct, as it affords a striking proof that he had deserved his fate.

Tragical death of Galeotto Manfredi.

Another event soon afterwards took place at Faenza, which occasioned great anxiety to Lorenzo, and called for the

(*a*) In the attack of this place, the Florentines lost their eminent citizen, Cecca, the engineer, whose skill had facilitated the success of their enterprize. In the *Exhortatio* of Philippus Reditus, addressed to Piero de' Medici, *in Magnanimi sui parentis imitationem*, the MS. of which is preserved in the Laurentian Library, this incident is particularly related; and as the passage has not hitherto been published, having been omitted, with many others, in the edition of Lami, *Delic. Erudit. vol.* xii. printed from a copy in the Riccardi Library, I shall here insert it: "Piancaldolii arx strenue nostris recuperatur. "Ad iv. vero Kalendas Maias, nuntiata nece Hieronymi Riarii, Imolæ For- "liviique Tyranni, Piancaldolis oppidum nostrum, olim ab eo per summum "nefas nobis ereptum, admirabili quadam nostrorum celeritate, tuo magna- "nimo Genitore procurante, strenue recuperatur. In cujus arcis obsidione, "Franciscus, cognomine Ciccha, Fabrum magister, vir vel in expugnandis "vel in defendendis urbibus tam nostra, quam nostrorum patrum memoria "perillustris, sagitta ictus capite, pro patria feliciter occubuit." The death of Cecca is related with some variation by Vasari, *Vita del Cecca*. "Costui, "quando i Florentini avevano l' esercito intorno a' Piancaldoli, con l' ingegno "suo fece sì, che i soldati vi entrarono dentro per via di mine senza colpo di "spada. Dopo seguitando più oltre il medesimo esercito a certe altre castella, "come volle la mala sorte, volendo egli misurare alcune altezze in un luogo "difficile, fu ucciso; perciocchè, avendo messo il capo fuor del muro per "mandar un filo abbasso, un prete, che era fra gli avversarii, i quali più te- "mevano l' ingegno del Cecca, che le forze di tutto il campo, scaricatogli una "balestra a panca, gli conficcò di sorte un verettone nella testa, che il pove- "rello di subito se ne morì."

the exertion of all his conciliatory powers. If the list of crimes and assassinations which we have before had occasion to notice, may be thought to have disgraced the age, that which we have now to relate exhibits an instance of female ferocity, which renewed in the fifteenth century the examples of Gothic barbarity (*a*). By the mediation of Lorenzo, who was equally the friend of the Manfredi and the Bentivoli, a marriage had taken place between Galeotto Manfredi, prince of Faenza, and Francesca, daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio, which for some time seemed to be productive of that happiness to the parties, and those advantages to their respective families, which Lorenzo had in view. It was not long however before Francesca discovered, or suspected, that her husband was engaged in an illicit amour, the information of which she thought proper to communicate both to her father and to Lorenzo. Ever on the watch to obtain further proofs of his infidelity, she found

(*a*) There is a striking coincidence between this event, and the narrative of Paullus Diaconus, upon which Giovanni Ruccellai has founded his tragedy of *Rosmunda*. Alboin, king of the Huns, having conquered and slain in battle Comundus, king of the Geppidi, compels his daughter *Rosmunda* to accept of him in marriage, with a view of uniting their dominions under his sole authority; but not satisfied with the accession of power, he gratifies a brutal spirit of revenge, by compelling her, at a public feast, to drink from the skull of her slaughtered father, which he had formed into a cup. This insult the princess avenges, by seducing to her purpose two of the king's intimate friends, who, in order to entitle themselves to her favour, assassinate him in the hour of intoxication. Ruccellai has however preserved his heroine from the crimes of prostitution and assassination, and has introduced a disinterested lover in the person of *Almachilde*, who executes vengeance on the king from generous and patriotic motives. In justice to the author, it must also be observed, that the horrid incident upon which the tragedy is founded, is narrated only, and not represented before the audience.

CHAP. VIII.

found an opportunity of listening to a private interview between Galeotto, and some pretender to astrological knowledge, in whom it seems he was credulous enough to place his confidence. Instead, however, of gaining any intelligence as to the object of her curiosity, she heard predictions and denunciations, which, as she thought, affected the safety of her father, and being unable to conceal her indignation, she broke in upon their deliberations, and reproached her husband with his treachery. Irritated by the intrusion and the pertinacity of his wife, Galeotto retorted with great bitterness; but finding himself unequal to a contest of this nature, he had recourse to more violent methods, and by menaces and blows reduced her to obedience. Bentivoglio was no sooner apprized of the ignominious treatment which his daughter had received, and of the circumstances which had given rise to it, than he resolved to carry her off from her husband by force. Taking with him a chosen body of soldiers, he approached Faenza by night, and seizing on Francesca and her infant son, brought them in safety to Bologna. This step he followed up, by preparing for an attack on the dominions of his son-in-law; but Galeotto having resorted to Lorenzo for his mediation, a reconciliation took place, and Francesca shortly afterwards returned to Faenza. Whether she still harboured in her bosom the lurking passions of jealousy and revenge, or whether some fresh insult on the part of her husband had roused her fury, is not known; but she formed and executed a deliberate plan for his assassination. To this end she feigned herself sick, and requested to see him in her chamber. Galeotto obeyed the summons, and on entering his wife's apartments, was instantly attacked

by four hired assassins, three of whom she had concealed under her bed. Though totally unarmed, he defended himself courageously; and as he had the advantages of great personal strength and activity, would probably have effected his escape; but when Francesca saw the contest doubtful, she sprung from the bed, and grasping a sword, plunged it into his body, and accomplished his destruction with her own hand. Conscious of her guilt, she immediately took refuge with her children in the castle, until her father once more came to her relief. On his approach to Faenza, Bentivoglio was joined by the Milanese troops, who had been engaged in reinstating the family of Riario at Forli. The citizens of Faenza, conceiving that it was his intention to deprive them of Astorgio, the infant son of Galeotto, or rather perhaps under that pretext to possess himself of the city, refused to surrender to him his daughter and her family. He immediately attacked the place, which was not only successfully defended by the citizens, but in an engagement which took place under the walls, Borgomini, the commander of the Milanese troops, lost his life, and Bentivoglio was made a prisoner. During this dispute Lorenzo de' Medici had warmly espoused the cause of the citizens, and had encouraged them with promises of support, in case they should find it necessary in preserving their independence. The success of their exertions, and the disaster of Bentivoglio, changed the object of his solicitude, and no sooner did he receive intelligence of this event, than he dispatched a messenger to Faenza, to interfere on the behalf of Bentivoglio, and if possible to obtain his release. This was with some difficulty accomplished, and Bentivoglio immediately

diately resorted to Florence, to return his thanks to his benefactor. Some time afterwards Lorenzo, at the request of Bentivoglio, solicited the liberation of his daughter, which was also complied with; and he was at length prevailed upon to intercede with the pope, to relieve her from the ecclesiastical censures which she had incurred by her crime. The reason given by Bentivoglio to Lorenzo, for requesting his assistance in this last respect, will perhaps be thought extraordinary—*He had an intention of providing her with another husband!*

CHAP. IX.

PROGRESS of the arts—State of them in the middle ages—Revival in Italy—Guido da Sienna—Cimabue—Giotto—Character of his works—The Medici encourage the arts—Masaccio—Paolo Uccello—Fra Filippo—Antonio Pollajuolo—Baldovinetti—Andrea da Castagna—Filippo Lippi—Luca Signorelli—Progress of Sculpture—Niccolo and Andrea Pisani—Ghiberti—Donatello—Imperfect state of the arts—Causes of their improvement—Numerous works of Sculpture collected by the ancient Romans—Researches after the remains of antiquity—Petrarca—Lorenzo de' Medici brother of Cosmo—Niccolo Niccoli—Poggio Bracciolini—Collection of antiques formed by Cosmo—Assiduity of Lorenzo in augmenting it—Lorenzo establishes a school for the study of the antique—Michelagnolo Buonarroti—Resides with Lorenzo—Forms an intimacy with Politiano—Advantages over his predecessors—His sculptures—Rapid improvement of taste—Raffaelle d' Urbino—Michelagnolo unjustly censured—Other artists favoured by Lorenzo—Gian-Francesco Rustici—Francesco Granacci—Andrea Contucci—Lorenzo encourages the study of Architecture—Giuliano da San Gallo—Attempts to renew the practice of Mosaic—Invention of engraving on copper—Revival of engraving on gems and stones.

CHAP. IX.

THOSE periods of time which have been most favourable to the progress of letters and science, have generally been distinguished by an equal proficiency in the arts. The productions of Roman sculpture, in its best ages, bear nearly the same proportion to those of the Greeks, as the imitative labours of the Roman authors bear to the original works of their great prototypes. During the long ages of ignorance that succeeded the fall of the Western empire, letters and the fine arts underwent an equal degradation; and it would be as difficult to point out a literary work of those times which is entitled to approbation, as it would be to produce a statue or a picture. When these studies began to revive, a Guido da Sienna, a Cimabue, rivalled a Guittone d' Arezzo, or a Piero delle Vigne. The crude buds

Progress of the arts.

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buds that had escaped the severity of so long a winter soon began to swell, and Giotto, Buffalmacco, and Gaddi were the contemporaries of Dante, of Boccaccio, and of Petrarca (*a*).

State of the arts in the middle ages.

It is not however to be presumed, that, even in the darkest intervals of the middle ages, these arts were entirely extinguished. Some traces of them are found in the rudest state of society; and the efforts of the Europeans, the South Americans, and the Chinese, without rivalship and without participation, are nearly on an equality with each other. Among the manuscripts of the Laurentian Library are preserved some specimens of miniature paintings which are unquestionably to be referred to the tenth century, but they bear decisive evidence of the barbarism of the times; and although they certainly aim at picturesque representation, yet they may with justice be considered rather as perverse distortions of nature, than as the commencement of an elegant art (*b*).

Antecedent

(*a*) Videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nulla prorsus arte politas; scripta illius ætatis rudia sunt, inepta, incompta: post Petrarcham emerserunt literæ; post Joctum surrexere pictorum manus; utrisque ad summam jam videmus artem pervenisse. *Æn. Silvii* (*Pii* ii.) *Epist.* 119. *ap. Baldinuc. Notiz. Dec.* 1. Such was the opinion of this pontiff, who had great learning and some taste. He was only mistaken in supposing that he had seen the perfection of the art.

(*b*) These pieces have lately been engraved and published in the *Etruria Pittrice*, a work which appears periodically at Florence, and contains specimens of the manner of the Tuscan artists from the earliest times, executed so as to give some idea of the original pictures. To this work, which would have been much more valuable if greater attention had been paid to the engravings, I shall, in sketching the progress of the art, have frequent occasion to refer.

Revival in Italy.

Guido da Sienna.

Antecedent, however, to Cimabue, to whom Vasari attributes the honour of having been the restorer of painting, Guido da Sienna had demonstrated to his countrymen the possibility of improvement. His picture of the virgin, which yet remains tolerably entire in the church of S. Domenico, in his native place, and which bears the date of 1221, is presumed, with reason, to be the earliest work now extant of any Italian painter (*a*). The Florentine made a bolder effort, and attracted more general admiration. Every new production of his pencil was regarded as a prodigy, and riches and honours were liberally bestowed on the fortunate artist. His picture of the Madonna, after having excited the wonder of a Monarch, and given the name of *Borgo Allegro* to that district of the city whither his countrymen resorted to gratify themselves with a sight of it, was removed to its destined situation in the church of *S. Maria Novella*, to the sound of music, in a solemn procession of the citizens (*b*). The modern artist who observes this picture may find it difficult to account for such a degree of enthusiasm (*c*); but excellence is merely relative,

Cimabue.

(*a*) Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice*, *No.* iii. Under this picture is inscribed, in Gothic characters, the following verse:

"Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amenis
"Quem Christus lenis nullis velit agere penis
A. D. MCCXXI."

(*b*) *Vasari vita di Cimabue.*

(*c*) Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice*, *No.* viii. The virgin is seated with the infant on her knee, in a rich chair, which is supported by six angels, represented as adults, though less than the child. The head of the virgin is somewhat inclined, the countenance melancholy, not without some pretensions to grace; the rest of the picture is in the true style of Gothic formality.

tive, and it is a sufficient cause of approbation, if the merit of the performance exceed the standard of the age. Those productions which, compared with the works of a Raffaello, or a Titian, may be of little esteem, when considered with reference to the times that gave them birth, may justly be entitled to no small share of applause.

Giotto.

The glory of Cimabue was obscured by that of his disciple Giotto (*a*), who, from figuring the sheep which it was his business to tend, became the best painter that Italy had produced (*b*). It affords no inadequate proof of his high reputation, when we find him indulging his humour in an imitation of the celebrated artist of Cos, and sending to the pope, who had desired to see one of his drawings, a circle, struck with such freedom, as to shew the hand of a master, yet with such truth, as to have given rise

(*a*) Credette Cimabue nella pintura,
Tener lo campo; ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Sì che la fama di colui oscura.

Dante Purg. Cant. xi.

(*b*) *Manni*, in his *Illustr. del Boccaccio, p.* 414. deduces the name of Giotto from Angiolotto, but M. Tenhove with more probability derives it from Ambrogio. *Ambrogio, Ambrogiotto, Giotto*; "Quel étranger," says this lively author, "aperçoit d' abord sous les bizarres déguisemens de *Bista, Betto, Bambo, Bindo, Bacci, Tani, Cece, Giomo, Nigi, Meo, Nanni, Vanni, Maxo, Lippo, Lippozzo, Pipo, Guccio, Mico, Caca, Toto*, &c. les noms de batême les plus vulgaries et les plus communs? Les autres Italiens se sont toujours moqués de cet usage Florentin, qui en effet n'est pas moins risible que si M. Hume, dans sa belle histoire d'Angleterre, nous entretenait de *Billy le conquérant*, de *Tom Becket*, de *Jackey le grand-terrien*, appellé *Sans-Terre*, des grands Rois *Ned* I. & III. *du nom*, de la bigotte *Reine Molly*, de la grand *Reine Bess*, & de son cher amant *Bobby Devereux*, envoyé par elle au supplice," &c.

Mem. Gen. &c. liv. i. *p.* 37.

rise to a proverb (*a*). Inferior artists hazard not such freedoms with the great. Giotto seems however to have delighted in the eccentricities of the art. One of his first essays when he began to study under Cimabue was to paint a fly on the nose of one of his master's portraits, which the deluded artist attempted to brush off with his hand (*b*); a tale that may rank with the horse of Apelles, the curtain of Parrhasius, or the grapes of Zeuxis. Boccaccio has introduced this celebrated painter with great approbation in one of his novels (*c*); a singular conversation is said to have occurred between him and Dante (*d*); and Petrarca held his works in such high esteem, that one of his pictures is the subject of a legacy to a particular friend in his will (*e*). Upwards of a century after his death, Lorenzo

(*a*) Divolgatasi poi questa cosa, ne nacque il proverbio, che ancora è in uso dirsi a gli uomini di grossa pasta: *Tu sei più tondo che l' O di Giotto.*
Vasar. vità di Giotto.

(*b*) *Vasari vita di Giotto.*

(*c*) Giotto ebbe un ingegno di tanta eccellenza, che niuna cosa dà la natura, madre di tutte le cose, ed operatrice, col continuo girar de' cieli, che egli con lo stile, e con la penna, e col pennello non dipignesse, sì simile a quella, che non simile, anzi più tosto dessa paresse. *Decam. Gior.* vi. *Nov.* 5.

(*d*) Benvenuto da Imola, one of the commentators of Dante, relates, that whilst Giotto resided at Padua, Dante paid him a visit, and was received by him with great attention. Observing however that the children of Giotto bore a great resemblance to their father, whose features and appearance were not very prepossessing, he inquired how it came to pass that his pictures and his children were so very unlike to each other, the former being so beautiful, the latter so coarse. *Quia pingo de die, sed fingo de nocte,* said the painter.
Manni, Illust. del Bocc. p. 417.

(*e*) Transeo ad dispositionem aliarum rerum; predicto igitur domino meo Paduano, quia et ipse per Dei gratiam non eget, et ego nihil aliud habeo dignum

CHAP. IX.

Lorenzo de' Medici, well aware that the most efficacious method of exciting the talents of the living is to confer due honour on departed merit, raised a bust to his memory in the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, the inscription for which was furnished by Politiano (*a*).

Character of his works.

The merits of Giotto and his school are appreciated with great judgment by Vasari, who attributes to him and his predecessor Cimabue the credit of having banished the insipid and spiritless manner introduced by the Greek artists, and given rise to a new and more natural style of composition. This the historian denominates the *maniera di Giotto* (*b*). "Instead of the harsh outline, circum-

"scribing

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se, mitto Tabulam meam sive historiam Beatæ virginis Mariæ, operis Jocti pictoris egregii, quæ mihi ab amico meo Michele Vannis de Florentia missa est, in cujus pulchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent. *Vasari vita di Giotto.*

(*a*) Ille ego sum per quem Pictura extincta revixit,
Cui quam recta manus tam fuit et facilis.
Naturæ deerat nostræ quod defuit arti;
Plus licuit nulli pingere nec melius.
Mirarîs turrim egregiam sacro ære sonantem?
Hæc quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo.
Denique sum JOTTUS, quid opus fuit illa referre?
Hoc nomen longi carminis instar erit.

(*b*) *Proemio di Giorgio Vasari* to the second part of his work, written, like all his other prefaces, with great judgment, candour, and historical knowledge of his art. *Tractant fabrilia fabri*—The early painters are fortunate in possessing an historian, who without envy, spleen, or arrogance, and with as little prejudice or partiality as the imperfection of human nature will allow, has distributed to each of his characters, his due portion of applause. If he has on any occasion shewn too apparent a bias in favour of an individual, it leans towards Michelagnolo

" scribing the whole figure, the glaring eyes, the pointed " feet and hands, and all the defects arising from a total " want of shadow, the figures of Giotto exhibit a better " attitude, the heads have an air of life and freedom, the " drapery is more natural, and there are even some " attempts at fore-shortening the limbs." " Besides these " improvements," continues this author, " Giotto was " the first who represented in his pictures, the effect " of the passions on the human countenance. That he " did not proceed further must be attributed to the difficul- " ties which attend the progress of the art, and to the want " of better examples. In many of the essential requisites " of his profession, he was indeed equalled, if not sur- " passed, by some of his contemporaries. The colouring " of Gaddi had more force and harmony, and the atti- " tudes of his figures more vivacity. Simone da Sienna " is to be preferred to him in the composition of his sub- " jects, and other painters excelled him in other branches " of the art; but Giotto had laid the solid foundation of " their

Buonarroti, in whose friendship he gloried, and whose works he diligently studied; but an excess of admiration for this great man will scarcely be imputed to him as a fault. As a painter and an architect, Vasari holds a respectable rank. In the former department, his productions are extremely numerous. One of his principal labours is his historical suite of pictures of the Medici family, with their portraits, painted for the great duke Cosmo I. in the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, of which Vasari himself has given a particular account, published by Filippo Giunti, in 1588, and intitled *Ragionamenti del Sig. Cav. Giorgio Vasari sopra le invenzione da lui dipinte in Firenze, &c.* Reprinted in Arezzo, 1762. In this series of pictures are represented the prinipal incidents in the life of Lorenzo. This work has been engraved, but not in such a manner as to do justice to the painter.

"their improvements. It is true, all that was effected "by these masters may be considered only as the first rude "sketch of a sculptor towards completing an elegant "statue, and if no further progress had been made, there "would not, upon the whole, have been much to com- "mend; but whoever considers the difficulties under which "their works were executed, the ignorance of the times, "the rarity of good models, and the impossibility of ob- "taining instruction, will esteem them not only as com- "mendable, but wonderful productions, and will perceive "with pleasure these first sparks of improvement which "were afterwards fanned into so bright a flame."

The Medici encourage the arts.

The patronage of the family of the Medici is almost contemporary with the commencement of the art. Giovanni de' Medici, the father of Cosmo, had employed his fellow-citizen, Lorenzo de' Bicci, to ornament with portraits a chamber in one of his houses in Florence, which afterwards became the residence of Lorenzo, the brother of Cosmo (*a*). The liberality of Cosmo led the way to further improvement.

Masaccio.

Under Masaccio, the study of nature and actual observation were substituted to cold and servile imitation. By this master, his competitors, and his scholars, every component branch of the art was carried

Paolo Uccello.

to some degree of perfection. Paolo Uccello was the first who boldly surmounted the difficulty which Giotto, though sensible of its importance, had ineffectually attempted to overcome, and gave that ideal depth to his labours, which is

(*a*) *Vasar. vita di Lor. de' Bicci.*

is the essence of picturesque representation (*a*). This he accomplished by his superior knowledge of perspective, which he studied in conjunction with the celebrated Giannozzo Manetti, and in the attainment of which the painter and the scholar were mutually serviceable to each other (*b*). The rules which he thence acquired he applied to practice, not only in the back-grounds of his pictures, but in his representation of the human figure, of which he expressed the *Scorci*, or fore-shortenings, with accuracy and effect (*c*). The merit of having been the first to apply mathematical rules to the improvement of works of art, and the proficiency which he made in so necessary and so laborious a study, if it had not obtained from Vasari a greater share of praise, ought at least to have secured the artist from that ridicule with which he seems inclined to treat him (*d*). The elder Filippo Lippi gave to his figures a boldness and grandeur before unknown. He attended also

Fra Filippo.

(*a*) 'E da osservare che non si trova prima di lui nessuno scorto di figure, perciò a ragione può dirsi aver questo valent' uomo fatto un gran progresso nell' arte. *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xiv.

(*b*) E fu il primo che ponesse studio grande nella prospettiva, introducendo il modo di mettere le figure su' piani, dove esse posar devono, diminuendole a proporzione; il che, da maestri avanti a lui, si faceva a caso, e senz' alcuna consideratione. *Baldinuc. Dec.* ii. *del. par.* i. *sec.* iv.

(*c*) In his picture of the inebriety of Noah, in the church of S. Maria Novella, is a figure of the patriarch stretched on the ground, with his feet towards the front of the picture; yet, even in this difficult attitude, the painter has succeeded in giving an explicit idea of his subject, *v. Etrur. Pittr. No.* xiv.

(*d*) La moglie soleva dire che tutta la notte Paolo stava nello scrittoio, per trovar i termini della prospettiva, e che quando ella lo chiamav a adormire, egli le diceva, *O che dolce cosa è questa prospettiva! Vas. Vita di Paolo.*

also to the effect of his back-grounds, which were however in general too minutely finished. About two years after his death, which happened in the year 1469, Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then absent from Florence on a journey, to congratulate Sixtus IV. on his accession to the pontificate, took the opportunity of passing through Spoletto, where he requested permission from the magistrates to remove the ashes of the artist to the church of *S. Maria del Fiore* at Florence. The community of that place were however unwilling to relinquish so honourable a deposit; and Lorenzo was therefore content to testify his respect for the memory of the painter, by engaging his son, the younger Filippo, to erect in the church of Spoletto a monument of marble, the inscription upon which, written by Politiano, has led his historian Menckenius into a mistake almost too apparent to admit of an excuse (*a*).

In

(*a*) *In Philippum Fratrem Pictorem.*

Conditus hic ego sum picturæ fama PHILIPPUS;
Nulli ignota meæ est gratia mira manus.
Artifices potui digitis animare colores,
Speraraque animos fallere voce diu.
Ipsa meis stupuit natura expressa figuris,
Meque suis fassa est artibus esse parem.
Marmoreo tumulo MEDICES LAURENTIUS hic me
Condidit: ante humili pulvere tectus eram.

From the appellation of *Frater*, given to Lippi by Politiano, Menckenius conjectures, that he was his brother. "Is enim quis sit, cujus hic frater "dicitur Philippus, si Politianus non est, hariolari non possum." *Menck. in vitâ Pol. p.* 31. Filippo had entered into holy orders, whence he was called *Fra Filippo*; a circumstance which Menckenius might easily have discovered, though he professes not to have been able to obtain any information respecting it. "Nihil enim eâ de re scriptores alii, etsi non desint, qui maxime

In the anatomy of the human figure, which now began to engage the more minute attention of the painter, Antonio Pollajuolo took the lead of all his competitors. By accurate observation, as well on the dead as on the living, he acquired a competent knowledge of the form and action of the muscles (*a*), which he exemplified in a striking manner in his picture of Hercules and Antæus, painted for Lorenzo de' Medici, in which he is said not only to have expressed the strength of the conqueror, but the languor and inanimation of the conquered (*b*); but his most celebrated work is the death of S. Sebastian, yet preserved in the chapel of the Pucci family at Florence, and of which Vasari has given a particular account (*c*). In this picture, the figure of the dying saint was painted from nature after Gino Capponi. In the figures of the two assassins, who are bending their cross-bows, he has shewn great knowledge of muscular action. Baldovinetti excelled in portraits, which he frequently introduced in his historical subjects. In a picture of the queen of Sheba on a visit to Solomon, he painted the likeness of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of the

Antonio Pollajuolo.

Baldovinetti.

" excelluisse hunc *Philippum* nobillissima pingendi arte suo confirment testi-
" monio." *Ibid. p.* 637.

(*a*) Egli s' intese degli ignudi più modernamente, che fatto non avevano gli altri maestri innanzi a lui; e scorticò molti uomini, per vedere la notomia lor sotto; e fu primo a mostrare il modo di cercare i muscoli, che avessero forma, ed ordine nelle figure. *Vasari vita di Pollajuolo.*

(*b*) *Vasari, ut supra.*

(*c*) *Vasari, ut supra.* This picture is engraved and published in the *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xxiv.

the celebrated mechanic, Lorenzo da Volpaia (*a*); and in another picture, intended as its companion, those of Giuliano de' Medici, Luca Pitti, and other Florentine citizens. The resemblance of Lorenzo was also introduced by Domenico Ghirlandajo, in a picture of S. Francesco taking the habit, painted by him in the chapel of the Trinity at Florence. Until this time the pictures of the Tuscan artists had been executed in distemper, or with colours rendered cohesive by glutinous substances. The practice of painting in oil, so essentially necessary to the duration of a picture, was now first introduced amongst his countrymen by Andrea da Castagna (*b*). The younger Filippo Lippi attempted,

Andrea da Castagna.

(*a*) Ritrasse costui assai di naturale, e dove nella detta cappella fece la storia della Reina Saba, che va a udire la sapienza di Salomone, ritrasse il magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici, che fu padre di papa Leone decimo, Lorenzo dalla Volpaja eccellentissimo maestro d' oriuoli, ed ottimo astrologo, il quale fu quello, che fece per il detto Lor. de' Medici il bellissimo oriuolo che ha oggi il Sig. Duca Cosimo in Palazzo; nel quale oriuolo tutte le ruote de' pianeti camminano di continuo; il che è cosa rara, e la prima che fusse mai fatta di questa maniera. *Vas. vita di Baldov. v. ante, p.* 112.

(*b*) Era nel suo tempo in Firenze un tal Domenico da Venezia, pittore di buon nome, col quale egli (Andrea) aveva fintamente legata grande amicizia, affine di cavargli del mano la maestria di colorire a olio, che allora in Toscana non era da alcun altro praticata, nè meno saputa, fuori che da Domenico, come gli ruiscì da fare. *Baldin. Dec.* iii. *sec.* v. The invention of painting in oil, though introduced so late into Italy, is probably more ancient than has generally been supposed. It is commonly attributed to the Flemish artists, Hubert and John Van Eyck, who flourished about the year 1400; but professor Lessing, in a small treatise "*sur l' ancienneté de la peinture à l' huile,*" printed at Brunswick in 1774, has endeavoured to shew that this art is of much greater antiquity. His suggestions have since been confirmed by the researches of M. de Mechel of Basle, who, in arranging the immense collection of pictures of the imperial gallery of Vienna, has discovered several pieces painted in oil, as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Of these the earliest is a

tempted, and not without effect, to give a greater share of energy and animation to his productions. His attitudes are frequently bold and diversified; and his figures have expression, vivacity, and motion (*a*). It is deserving of remark, that he prepared the way to the study of the antique, by introducing into his pictures, the vases, utensils, arms, and dresses of the ancients (*b*). But of all the masters of this period, perhaps Luca Signorelli united the most important excellencies; his composition was good; in drawing the naked figure he particularly excelled (*c*); in his picture of the institution of the eucharist, yet existing in the choir of

Filippo Lippi.

Luca Signorelli.

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picture by Thomas de Mutina, a Bohemian gentleman; the others are by Theodoric, of Prague, and Nic. Wurmser, of Strasbourg; both artists at the court of the emperor Charles IV.

v. Mechel, Catal. des Tabl. de Vienne, &c. in pref.

(*a*) His celebrated picture of S. Filippo and the serpent, painted in the chapel of the Strozzi at Florence, and engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xxvii. is a sufficient proof of the truth of this remark. Filippo Lippi was the son of the former painter of the same name, usually called Fra Filippo. Lorenzo employed him to ornament his palace at Poggio Cajano, where he painted a sacrifice in Fresco, but the work was left unfinished.

(*b*) Non lavorò mai opera alcuna, nelle quale delle cose antiche di Roma con gran studio non si servisse, in vasi, calzari, trofei, bandiere, cimieri, ornamenti di tempj, abbigliamenti di portature da capo, strane fogge da dosso, armature, scimitarre, spade, toghe, manti, ed altri cose diverse e belle, che grandissimo e sempiterno obbligo se gli debbe. *Vasar. vita di Filip.*

(*c*) Col fondamento del disegno, e degli ignudi particolarmente, & con la grazia della invenzione, e dispozitione delle historie, aperse alla maggior parte degli artefici la via alla ultima perfezzione dell' arte, alla quale poi poterono dar cima quelli che seguirono. *Vasar. vita di Luca Signorelli.* It must however be observed, that Luca lived till 1521, before which time an important reformation had taken place in the arts.

of the cathedral at Cortona (*a*), the figure of Christ might be mistaken for the production of one of the Caracci. In the variety and expression of countenance, in the disposition of the drapery, even in the just distribution of light, this picture has great merit; and if some remnants of the manner of the times prevent us from giving it unlimited approbation, it may certainly be considered as the harbinger of a better taste.

Progress of sculpture.

The art of sculpture, dependent on the same principles, and susceptible of improvement from the same causes as that of painting, made a proportionable progress. The inventive genius of the Italian artists had very early applied it to almost every variety of material; and figures in wood, in clay, in metals, and in marble, were fashioned by Giovanni and Niccolo Pisano, by Agostino and Agnolo Sanese, which, though rude and incorrect, excited the admiration of the times in which they were produced. Their successor Andrea Pisano, the contemporary of Giotto, supported the credit of the art, which was then endangered by the sudden progress of its powerful rival; and in the arly part of the fifteenth century the talents of Ghiberti and Donatello carried it to a degree of eminence which challenged the utmost exertions, and perhaps even excited the jealousy, of the first painters of the age. It must indeed be acknowledged, that the advantages which sculpture possesses are neither few nor unimportant. The severe and simple mode of its execution, the veracity of which it is susceptible, and the

Niccolo Pisano.

Andrea Pisano.

Ghiberti and Donatello.

(*a*) Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice*, *No.* xxxii.

the durability of its productions, place it in a favourable point of view, when opposed to an art whose success is founded on illusion, which not only admits, but courts meretricious ornament, and whose monuments are fugitive and perishable (*a*). These arts, so distinct in their operations, approach each other in works in *rilievo*, which unite the substantial form that characterizes sculpture, with the ideal depth of picturesque composition. In this province Donatello particularly excelled; and in Cosmo de' Medici he found a patron who had judgment to perceive, and liberality to reward his merits. But the genius of Donatello was not confined to one department. His group of Judith and Holofernes, executed in bronze for the community of Florence, his statue of S. George, his Annunciation, and his Zuccone, in one of the niches of the Campanile at Florence, all of which yet remain, have met with the uniform approbation of succeeding times, and are perhaps as perfect as the narrow principles upon which the art was then conducted would allow.

Imperfection of the art.

Notwithstanding the exertions of these masters, which were regarded with astonishment by their contemporaries, and are yet entitled to attention and respect, it does not appear

(*a*) I am aware that much is to be said on the opposite side of the question, but I mean not to discuss a subject upon which almost every writer on the history of the arts has either directly or incidentally exercised his ingenuity. Among others, I may refer the reader to the *Proemi* of Vasari, the *Lezzione* of Benedetto Varchi, *della maggioranza dell' arti*, the works of Baldinucci, Richardson, and Mengs, and to the posthumous works of Dr. Adam Smith, lately published, in which the reader will find many acute observations on this subject.

appear that they had raised their views to the true end of the profession (*a*). Their characters rarely excelled the daily prototypes of common life; and their forms, although at times sufficiently accurate, were mostly vulgar and heavy. In the pictures which remain of this period, the limbs are not marked with that precision which characterizes a well-informed artist. The hands and feet, in particular, appear soft, enervated, and delicate, without distinction of sex or character. Many practices yet remained that evince the imperfect state of the art. Ghirlandajo and Baldovinetti continued to introduce the portraits of their employers in historic composition, forgetful of that *simplex duntaxat et unum* with which a just taste can never dispense. Cosimo Roselli, a painter of no inconsiderable reputation, attempted, by the assistance of gold and ultramarine, to give a factitious splendor to his performances. To every thing great and elevated, the art was yet a stranger; even the celebrated picture of Pollajuolo exhibits only a group of half naked and vulgar wretches, discharging their arrows at a miserable fellow-creature, who, by changing places with one of his murderers, might with equal propriety become a murderer himself (*b*). Nor was it till the time

(*a*) È necessario il confessare, che non poteva la pittura, benchè fatta viva dalle mani di que' maestri, far gran pompa di se stessa, perchè molto le mancava di disegno, di colorito, di morbidezza, di scorti, di movenze, di attitudini, di rilievo, e di altre finezze e vivacità, onde ella potesse in tutto e per tutto assomiliarsi al vero. *Baldin. Dec.* iii. *sec.* v.

(*b*) Objects of horror and disgust, the cold detail of deliberate barbarity, can never be proper subjects of art, because they exclude the efforts of genius. Even the powers of Shakespear are annihilated in the butcheries of Titus An-

time of Michelagnolo that painting and sculpture rose to their true object, and instead of exciting the wonder, began to rouse the passions and interest the feelings of mankind.

Causes of improvement.

By what fortunate concurrence of circumstances, the exquisite taste evinced by the ancients in works of art was revived in modern times, deserves inquiry. It has generally been supposed that these arts, having left in Greece some traces of their former splendor, were transplanted into Italy by Greek artists, who, either led by hopes of emolument, or impelled by the disastrous state of their own country, sought, among the ruins of the western empire, a shelter from the impending destruction of the east. Of the labours of these masters, specimens indeed remain in different parts of Italy; but, in point of merit, they exceed not those of the native Italians, and some of them even bear the marks of deeper barbarism (*a*). In fact,

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dronicus. Yet the reputation of some of the most celebrated Italian painters has been principally founded on this kind of representation. " Ici," says M. Tenhove, " c'est S. Etienne qu'on lapide, et dont je crains que la cervelle ne " rejaillisse sur moi; plus loin c'est S. Barthélémi tout sanglant, tout écorché; " je compte ses muscles & ses nerfs. Vingt flêches ont criblé Sebastien. " L'horrible tête du Baptiste est dans ce plat. Le gril de S. Laurent sert de " pendant a la chaudiere de S. Jean—Je recule d'horreur." *Mem. Gen. lib.* x. May it not well be doubted, whether spectacles of this kind, so frequent in places devoted to religious purposes, may not have had a tendency rather to keep alive a spirit of ferocity and resentment, than to inculcate those mild and benevolent principles in which the essence of religion consists?

(*a*) Venise, & quelques villes de la Romagne, ou de l'ancien Exarchat de Ravenne, montrent encore des traces de ces barbouillages Grecs. Le caractère d'un assez profonde barbarie s'y fait sentir. La peinture qui représente les obsèques de' St. Ephraim, qu'on voit dans le *Museo Sacro*, partie de la Bibliothèque du Vatican, passe pour le triste chef d'œuvre de ces fils bâtards de Zeuxis. *Tenh. Mém. Gen. lib.* vii.

fact, these arts were equally debased in Greece and in Italy, and it was not therefore by an intercourse of this nature that they were likely to receive improvement. Happily, however, the same favourable circumstances which contributed to the revival of letters took place also with respect to the arts; and if the writings of the ancient authors excited the admiration and called forth the exertions of the scholar, the remains of ancient skill in marble, gems, and other durable materials, at length caught the attention of the artist, and were converted from objects of wonder, into models of imitation. To facilitate the progress of these studies, other fortunate circumstances concurred. The freedom of the Italian governments, and particularly that of Florence, gave to the human faculties their full energies (*a*). The labours of the painter were early associated with the mysteries of the prevailing religion, whilst the wealth and ostentation of individuals and of states held out rewards, sufficient to excite the endeavours even of the phlegmatic and the indolent.

Sculpture of the ancient Romans.

From the time of the consul Mummius, who, whilst he plundered the city of Corinth of its beautiful productions of art, regarded them rather as household furniture, than as pieces of exquisite skill (*b*), the avidity of the Romans

(*a*) L'uomo libero, con volontà, fa tutto quel che può, più, o meno, secondo la sua capacità; ma lo schiavò fa al più quello, che gli si comanda, e guasta la sua propria volontà, colla violenza, che gli si fa, per ubbidire. L'abito di farlo opprime finalmente la sua capacità, e la sua razza peggiora, fino, a non più desiderare quello, che dispera ottenere.

Opere di Mengs. v. i. *p.* 228.

(*b*) Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet

Romans for the works of the Grecian artists had been progressively increasing, till at length they became the first objects of proconsular rapacity, and the highest gratification of patrician luxury. The astonishing number which Verres had acquired during his government of Sicily, forms one of the most striking features of the invectives of Cicero; who asserts, that throughout that whole province, so distinguished by the riches and taste of its inhabitants, there was not a single statue or figure, either of bronze, marble, or ivory, not a picture or a piece of tapestry, not a gem or a precious stone, not even a gold or silver utensil, of the workmanship of Corinth or Delos, which Verres during his prætorship had not sought out and examined, and if he approved of it, brought it away with him; insomuch that Syracuse, under his government, lost more statues than it had lost soldiers in the victory of Marcellus (*a*). Such however was the desolation which took place

prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. *Vel. Paterc. lib.* i. *c.* 13.

(*a*) The very minute account given by the Roman orator, in his fourth accusation against Verres, of the pieces of Grecian sculpture which he obtained from Sicily, has enabled the Abbe Fraguier to draw up a dissertation which he has intitled the *Gallery of Verres. Mem. de litt. v.* ix. *p.* 260. *Winckel. Storia delle arti del Disegno, lib.* x. *c.* 3. *Ed. Milan,* 1779, *in not.* Amongst those particularly enumerated by Cicero, is a marble statue of Cupid by Praxiteles, a Hercules in bronze by Myron, two Canephoræ, or female figures, representing Athenian virgins, bearing on their heads implements of sacrifice, the work of Polycletes; a celebrated statue of Diana, which, after having been carried off from the citizens of Segesta by the Carthaginians, was restored to them by Scipio Africanus, another of Mercury, which had been given them by the same liberal benefactor, the statues of Ceres, of Æsculapius, of Bacchus, and lastly that of Jupiter himself, of which the sacrilegious *amateur* scrupled not to plunder his temple at Syracuse. *Cic. in Verrem, lib.* iv.

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place in Italy during the middle ages, occasioned not only by natural calamities, but by the yet more destructive operation of moral causes, the rage of superstition and the ferocity of barbarian conquerors, that of the innumerable specimens of art, which, till the times of the later emperors, had decorated the palaces and villas of the Roman nobility, scarcely a specimen or a vestige was, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, to be discovered. Even the city of Rome could only display six statues, five of marble and one of brass, the remains of its former splendor (*a*); and the complaint of Petrarca was not therefore without reason, that Rome was in no place less known than in Rome itself (*b*).

Researches after the remains of antiquity.

In tracing the vicissitudes which the arts have experienced, we observe with pleasure, that the same persons who signalized themselves by their attention to preserve the writings of the ancient authors, were those to whom

(*a*) Hoc videbitur levius fortasse, sed me maximè movet, quod his subjiciam; ex innumeris ferme colossis, statuisque tum marmoreis, tum æneis (nam argenteas atque aureas minimè miror fuisse conflatas) viris illustribus ob virtutem positis, ut omittam varia signa, voluptatis atque artis causa publicè ad spectaculum collocata, marmoreas quinque tantùm, quatuor in Constantini thermis; duas stantes ponè equos, Phidiæ & Praxitelis opus; duas recubantes; quintam in foro martis, statuam quæ hodie Martis fori nomen tenet; atque æneam solam equestrem deauratam, quæ est ad Basilicam Lateranensem, Septimio Severo dicatam, tantùm videmus superesse. *Pog. de varietate Fortunæ*, *p.* 20. The equestrian statue to which Poggio adverts, as that of Sep. Severus, is now recognized as the statue of Marcus Aurelius.

(*b*) Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanorum sunt quàm Romani cives? Invitus dico, nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ.

Epist. Fam. lib. vi. *Ep.* 2.

whom posterity is indebted for the restoration of a better taste in the arts. Petrarca himself is one of the first who displayed a marked attention to the remains of antiquity (*a*). On his interview with the emperor Charles IV. at Mantua, he presented to that monarch a considerable number of coins, which he had himself collected; at the same time assuring him, that he would not have bestowed them on any other person, and, with a degree of freedom which does him honour, recommending to the emperor, whilst he studied the history, to imitate the virtues of the persons there represented (*b*). Lorenzo de' Medici, the brother of Cosmo, distinguished himself not only by his assiduity in collecting the remains of ancient authors, but also by a decided predilection for works of taste, in the acquisition

Petrarca.

Lorenzo de' Medici, brother of Cosmo.

(*a*) The famous Cola di Rienzi, who called himself Tribune of Rome, and attempted in the fourteenth century to establish the ancient republic, was, as well as his friend and panegyrist Petrarca, a great admirer of the remains of antiquity. It is not indeed improbable, as Tiraboschi conjectures, that the indulgence of this taste first incited him to his romantic project. The character of Rienzi is given by a contemporary author in the following terms, which may serve as a curious specimen of the Italian language: "*Fo da soa "joventutine nutricato de latte de eloquentia, bono Grammatico, megliore Rettorico, "Autorista bravo. Deh como e quanto era veloce leitore! Moito usava Tito Livio, "Seneca, e Tullio, e Balerio Massimo: moito li dilettava le magnificentie de Julio "Cesare raccontare. Tutto lo die se speculava negl' intagli de marmo, li quali jaccio "intorno a Roma. Non era aitri che esse che sapesse lejere li antichi pataffij. Tutte "scritture antiche volgarrizzava; queste fiure de marmo justamente interpretava.*" *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* v. *p.* 314. *Mem pour la vie de Petr. v.* ii. *p.* 335.

(*b*) Ecce (inquit) Cæsar, quibus successisti; ecce quos imitari studeas, et mirari, ad quorum formulam, atque imaginem, te componas, quos præter te unum nulli hominum daturus eram. *Epist. Fam. lib.* x.

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Niccolo Niccoli.

acquisition of which he emulated the celebrity of his brother (*a*). From the funeral oration pronounced by Poggio on the death of Niccolo Niccoli, to whom the cause of literature is perhaps more indebted than to any individual who held merely a private station, we learn, that he was highly delighted with paintings and pieces of sculpture, of which he had collected a greater number, and of more exquisite workmanship, than any person of his time; and that visitors thronged to see them, not as to a private house, but as to a public exhibition (*b*). Nor was Poggio himself less attentive to the discovery and acquisition of these precious remains (*c*). "My chamber," says he, "is surrounded with busts in marble, one of which "is whole and elegant. The others are indeed muti-"lated, and some of them are even noseless, yet they "are such as may please a good artist. With these, "and

Poggio Bracciolini.

(*a*) Erat enim (Laurentius) ditissimus agri, ditissimusque auri, atque pretiosæ vestis, et universæ supellectilis, signis, tabulis pictis, vasis cælatis, margaritis, libris, mirum in modum affluit, &c.

Ant. Tudertani Orat. in Ep. Amb. Trav.

(*b*) Delectabatur admodum tabulis & signis ac variis colaturis priscorum more. Plura enim prope solus atque exquisitiora habebat quam ceteri fere omnes. Ad quæ visenda multi alliciebantur, ut non privato aliquo in loco, sed in Theatro quodam collocata ac exposita esse affirmares.

Poggii Op. p. 276.

(*c*) "Effectus sum," says he, in his jocular style, "admodum capitosus. "Id quale sit, scire cupis? Habeo cubiculum refertum capitibus marmoreis, "inter quæ unum est elegans, integrum: alia truncis naribus, sed quæ vel "bonum artificem delectent. His & nonnullis signis quæ procuro, ornare "volo Academiam meam Valdarninam, quo in loco quiescere est animus," &c. *Poggii Epist. ad Nic. Nicol.*

" and some other pieces which I possess, I intend to orna-
" ment my country seat." In a letter from Poggio to Francesco da Pistoia, a monk who had travelled to Greece in search of antiquities, we have a much more explicit instance of the ardour with which he pursued this object (*a*). " By your letters from Chios," says Poggio, " I learn that you have procured for me three busts in " marble, one of Minerva, another of Jupiter, a third of " Bacchus. These letters afforded me great satisfaction, " for I am delighted beyond expression with pieces of " sculpture. I am charmed with the skill of the artist, " when I see marble so wrought as to imitate Nature her-
" self. You also inform me that you have obtained a " head of Apollo, and you add from Virgil,

" *Miros ducent de marmore vultus.*"

" Believe me, my friend, you cannot confer a greater fa-
" vour on me than by returning laden with such works, " by which you will abundantly gratify my wishes. Dif-
" ferent persons labour under different disorders; that " which principally affects me is an admiration of these " productions of eminent sculptors, to which I am perhaps " more devoted than becomes a man who may pretend to " some share of learning. Nature herself, it is true, must " always excel these her copies; yet I must be allowed to " admire that art, which can give such expression to inert " materials, that nothing but breath seems to be wanting. " Exert yourself therefore I beseech you to collect, either " by

(*a*) *App.* No. LXXIII.

" by entreaties or rewards, whatever you can find that " possesses any merit. If you can procure a complete " figure, *triumphatum est.*" Being informed by Francesco, that a Rhodian named Suffretus had in his possession a considerable number of antique sculptures, Poggio addressed a letter to him, earnestly requesting to be favoured with such specimens from his valuable collection as he might think proper to spare, and assuring him, that his kindness should be remunerated by the earliest opportunity (*a*). In the same earnest style, and for the same purpose, he addressed himself to Andreolo Giustiniano, a Venetian, then residing in Greece. Induced by his pressing entreaties, both Suffretus and Giustiniano intrusted to the monk some valuable works; but, to the great disappointment of Poggio, he betrayed the confidence reposed in him, and under the pretext that he had been robbed of them in his voyage, defrauded Poggio of the chief part of his treasures, which, as it afterwards appeared, he presented to Cosmo de' Medici. The indignation of Poggio on this occasion is poured forth in a letter to Giustiniano, whose liberality he again solicits, and which he professes to have in some degree repaid, by obtaining for him from the pope a dispensation to enable his daughter to marry (*b*). Thus sacrilegiously, though almost excusably, bartering the favours of the church, for the objects of his favourite study, and the gratification of his taste.

The

(*a*) *App. No.* LXXIII.

(*b*) *App. No.* LXXIV.

The riches of Cosmo de' Medici, and the industry of Donatello (*a*), united to give rise to the celebrated collection of antiquities, which, with considerable additions, was transmitted by Piero to his son Lorenzo, and is now denominated the *Museum Florentinum*. By an estimate or account taken by Piero on the death of his father, it appears that these pieces amounted in value to more than 28,000 florins (*b*). But it was reserved for Lorenzo to enrich this collection with its most valuable articles, and to render it subservient to its true purpose, that of inspiring in his countrymen a correct and genuine taste for the arts.

Collection of antiques formed by Cosmo.

Of the earnestness with which Lorenzo engaged in this pursuit, some instances have already been adduced (*c*). "Such an admirer was he," says Valori (*d*), "of all the "remains of antiquity, that there was not any thing with "which he was more delighted. Those who wished to "oblige him were accustomed to collect, from every part "of the world, medals and coins, estimable for their age "or their workmanship, statues, busts, and whatever "else bore the stamp of antiquity. On my return from "Naples," adds he, "I presented him with figures of "Faustina

Augmented by Lorenzo.

(*a*) Egli (Donato) fu potissima cagione che a Cosimo de' Medici si destasse la volontà dell' introdurre a Fiorenza le antichità, che sono ed erano in casa Medici, le quali tutte di sua mano acconciò. *Vasar. vita di Donato.*

(*b*) *Fabr. in vitâ Cosm. Adnot. & Monum. p.* 231. *v. App. No.* LXXV.

(*c*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 147. See also the letter from Politiano to Lorenzo. *App. No.* LI.

(*d*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 18.

" Faustina and Africanus in marble, and several other " specimens of ancient art; nor can I easily express with " what pleasure he received them." Having long desired to possess the resemblance of Plato, he was rejoiced beyond measure, when Girolamo Roscio of Pistoia presented to him a figure in marble of his favourite philosopher, which was said to have been found amongst the ruins of the academy (*a*). By his constant attention to this pursuit, and by the expenditure of considerable sums, he collected under his roof all the remains of antiquity that fell in his way, whether they tended to illustrate the history of letters or of arts (*b*). His acknowledged acquaintance with these productions induced the celebrated Fra Giocondo, of Verona, the most industrious antiquarian of his time, to inscribe to him his collection of ancient inscriptions, of which Politiano, who was a competent judge of the subject, speaks with high approbation (*c*).

Lorenzo establishes a school for the study of the antique.

But it is not the industry, the liberality, or the judgment shewn by Lorenzo in forming his magnificent collection, so much as the important purpose to which he destined it, that entitles him to the esteem of the professors

(*a*) In the diligent researches made at the instance of Lorenzo for the discovery of ancient manuscripts, his agents frequently met with curious specimens of art. The inventory of the books purchased by Giovanni Lascar, from one Nicolo di Jacopo da Siena, concludes with particularizing a marble statue. This contract and inventory are yet preserved in MS. in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence. *Filz.* lxxxi. *No.* 26.

(*b*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 18.

(*c*) *Polit. Miscell. c.* 77.

fessors and admirers of the arts. Conversant from his youth with the finest forms of antiquity, he perceived and lamented the inferiority of his contemporary artists, and the impossibility of their improvement upon the principles then adopted. He determined therefore to excite among them, if possible, a better taste, and by proposing to their imitation the remains of the ancient masters, to elevate their views beyond the forms of common life, to the contemplation of that ideal beauty which alone distinguishes works of art from mere mechanical productions. With this view he appropriated his gardens, adjacent to the monastery of S. Marco, to the establishment of a school or academy for the study of the antique, and furnished the different buildings and avenues with statues, busts, and other pieces of ancient workmanship. Of these he appointed the sculptor Bertoldo, the favourite pupil of Donatello, but who was then far advanced in years, superintendant. The attention of the higher rank of his fellow-citizens was incited to these pursuits by the example of Lorenzo; that of the lower class, by his liberality. To the latter he not only allowed competent stipends, whilst they attended to their studies, but appointed considerable premiums as the rewards of their proficiency (*a*).

Michelagnolo Buonarroti.

To this institution, more than to any other circumstance, we may, without hesitation, ascribe the sudden and astonishing proficiency which, towards the close of the fifteenth century, took place in the arts, and which commencing

(*a*) *Vasari, vita di Torrigiano, e di Michelagnolo, &c.*

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mencing at Florence, extended itself in concentric circles to the rest of Europe. The gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici are frequently celebrated by the historian of the painters, as the nursery of men of genius (*a*); but if they had produced no other artist than Michelagnolo Buonarroti, they would sufficiently have answered the purposes of their founder. It was here that this great man began to imbibe that spirit, which was destined to effect a reformation in the arts, and which he could perhaps have derived from no other source (*b*). Of a noble, but reduced family, he had been placed by his father, when young, under the tuition of the painter Ghirlandajo, from whom Lorenzo, desirous of

(*a*) Vasari adverts also to this establishment in his *Ragionamenti*. "Lorenzo "aveva fatto fare il Giardino, ch' è ora in su la piazza di San Marco, sola- "mente perchè lo teneva pieno di figure antiche di marmo, e pitture assai, e "tutte eccellenti, solo per condurre una scuola di giovani, i quali alla scul- "tura, pittura, e architettura attendessino a imparare, sotto la custodia di "Bertoldo scultore, già discepolo di Donatello, i quali giovanni, tutti o la "maggior parte furono eccellenti; fra quali fu uno il nostro Michelagnolo "Buonarroti, che è stato lo splendore, la vita, e la grandezza della scultura, "pittura, e architettura, avendo voluto mostrare il cielo, che non poteva, nè "doveva nascere, se non sotto questo magnifico e illustre uomo, per lassar la "sua patria ereditaria, e il mondo di tante onorate opere, quante si veggono "di lui oggi, e di molti altri che io ho viste, di cotesta scuola onorata."

Vas. Ragionamenti, p. 75.

(*b*) Mengs, on several occasions, attributes the superior excellence of Michelagnolo to the same favourable circumstance. "Michelagnolo, appro- "fittandosi delle statue raccolte dai Medici, aprì gli occhi, e connobbe che gli "antichi avean tenuta una certa arte nell' imitare la verità, con cui si faceva "la imitazione più intelligibile, e più bella, che nello stesso originale," and again, after giving an historical account of the progress of the arts, he adds, "In quello stato di cose scappò un raggio di quella stessa luce, che illuminò "l' antica Grecia, quando Michelagnolo, il quale col suo gran talento avea "già superato il Ghirlandajo, vide le cose degli antichi Greci nella collezione "del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici." *Op. di Mengs, vol.* ii. *p.* 99. 109.

of promoting his new establishment, requested that he would permit two of his pupils to pursue their studies in his gardens; at the same time expressing his hopes, that they would there obtain such instruction, as would not only reflect honour on the institution, but also on themselves and on their country. The students who had the good fortune to be thus selected were Michelagnolo and Francesco Granacci (*a*). On the first visit of Michelagnolo, he found in the gardens his future adversary, Torrigiano, who, under the directions of Bertoldo, was modelling figures in clay. Michelagnolo applied himself to the same occupation, and his work soon afterwards attracted the attention of Lorenzo, who, from these early specimens, formed great expectations of his talents. Encouraged by such approbation, he began to cut in marble the head of a faun, after an antique sculpture (*b*), which, though unaccustomed to the chisel, he executed with such skill as to astonish Lorenzo; who, observing that he had made some intentional deviations from the original, and that in particular he had represented

(*a*) Dolendosi adunque Lorenzo, che amor grandissimo portava alla pittura, e alla scultura, che ne' suoi tempi non si trovassero scultori celebrati, e nobili, come si trovavano molti pittori di grandissimo pregio, e fama, deliberò di fare una scuola; e per questo chiese a Domenico Ghirlandajo, che se in bottega sua avesse de' suoi giovani, che inclinati fossero a ciò, gli inviasse al giardino, dove egli desiderava di esserciterli e creargli in una maniera, che onorasse se, e lui, e la città sua. Laonde da Domenico gli furono per ottimi giovani dati fra gli altri Michelagnolo, e Francesco Granacci.

Vasar. vita di Michelagn.

(*b*) This early specimen of the genius of Michelagnolo is yet preserved in the Medicean gallery at Florence, in the keeper's room, and is equal, says Bottari, to a piece of Grecian workmanship; it has been engraved and published by Gori, in Condivi's life of Michelagnolo; but as Bottari observes, "poco felicemente, e con gran pregiudizio dell' originale." *v. Bottari, not. ut sup.*

presented the lips smoother, and had shewn the tongue and teeth, remarked to him, with his accustomed jocularity, that he should have remembered that old men seldom exhibit a complete range of teeth. The docile artist, who paid no less respect to the judgment, than to the rank of Lorenzo, was no sooner left to himself, than he struck out one of the teeth, giving to the part the appearance of its having been lost by age (*a*). On his next visit, Lorenzo was equally delighted with the disposition and the genius of his young pupil, and sending for his father, not only took the son under his particular protection, but made such a provision for the old man, as his age and the circumstances of his numerous family required (*b*). From this time till the death of Lorenzo, which included an interval of four years, Michelagnolo constantly resided in the palace of the Medici, and sat at the table of Lorenzo, among his most honoured guests; where, by a commendable regulation, the troublesome distinctions of rank were abolished, and every person took his place in the order of his arrival. Hence the young artist found himself at once associated, on terms of equality, with all that was illustrious and learned in Florence, and formed those connexions and friendships

Resides with Lorenzo.

(*a*) *Condivi, vita di Michelagnolo, p.* 5, *&c.*

(*b*) We learn from the narrative of Condivi, who relates these circumstances with insufferable minuteness, that when Lodovico, the father of Michelagnolo, encouraged by the kindness of Lorenzo, requested an office in the *Degana* or custom-house, *in the place of Marco Pucci*, Lorenzo, who intended to provide him with a much better establishment, replied, laying his hand on his shoulder, *Tu sarai sempre povero.* He gave him however the office for which he applied, which was worth eight scudi per month, *poco più o meno*, says the accurate historian. *Condiv. ut sup.*

friendships which, if they do not create, are at least necessary to promote and reward superior talents (*a*). His leisure hours were passed in contemplating the intaglios, gems, and medals, of which Lorenzo had collected an astonishing number, whence he imbibed that taste for antiquarian researches, which was of essential service to him in his more immediate studies, and which he retained to the close of his life (*b*).

Associates with Politiano.

Whilst Michelagnolo was thus laying the sure foundation of his futute fame, and giving daily proofs of his rapid improvement, he formed an intimacy with Politiano, who resided under the same roof, and who soon became warmly attached to his interests. At his recommendation, Michelagnolo executed a *basso-rilievo* in marble, the subject of which is the battle of the Centaurs. This piece yet ornaments the dwelling of one of his descendants; and, although not wholly finished, displays rather the hand of an experienced master, than that of a pupil. But its highest commendation is, that it stood approved even in the riper judgment of the artist himself; who, although not indulgent

(*a*) Lorenzo fece dare a Michelagnolo una buona camera in casa, dandogli tutte quelle comodità, ch' egli desiderava, nè altrimenti trattandolo sì in altro, sì nella sua mensa, che da figliuolo: alla quale, come d' un tal' uomo, sedeano ogni giorno personaggi nobilissimi e di grande affare. Ed essendovi questa usanza, che quei, che da principio si trovavano presenti, ciascheduno appresso il magnifico secondo il suo grado sedesse, non si movendo di luogo, per qualunque dipoi sopraggiunto fosse; avenne bene spesso, che Michelagnolo sedette sopra i figliuoli di Lorenzo, ed altre persone pregiate, di che tal casa di continuo fioriva ed abbondava, &c. *Cond. ut supr.*

(*b*) *Condiv. ut supra.*

gent to his own productions, did not hesitate, on seeing it some years afterwards, to express his regret that he had not entirely devoted himself to this branch of art (*a*). The death of Lorenzo too soon deprived him of his protector. Piero, the son of Lorenzo, continued indeed to shew to him the same marks of kindness which his father had uniformly done; but that prodigality, which so speedily dissipated his authority, his fortune, and his fame, was extended even to his amusements; and the talents of Michelagnolo, under the patronage of Piero, instead of impressing on brass or on marble the forms of immortality, were condemned to raise a statue of snow (*b*)! Nor was this intercourse of long continuance, for Piero, instead of affording support to others, was soon obliged to seek, in foreign countries, a shelter for himself.

Advantages possessed by Michelagnolo over his predecessors.

The history of Michelagnolo forms that of all the arts which he professed. In him sculpture, painting, and architecture seem to have been personified. Born with talents superior to his predecessors, he had also a better fate. Ghiberti, Donatello, Verocchio, were all men of genius,

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(*a*) Così la impressa gli succedette, che mi rammenta udirlo dire, che quando la rivede, cognosse quanto torto egli abbia fatto alla natura, a non seguitar prontamente l' arte della scultura, facendo giudizio per quell' opera, quanto potesse riuscire. *Cond. vita di M. A.*

(*b*) Essendo in Firenze venuta dimolta neve, Pier de' Medici, figliuol maggiore di Lorenzo, che nel medesimo luogo del padre era restato, ma non nella medesima grazia, volendo, come giovane, far fare nel mezzo della sua corte una statua di neve si ricordò di Michelagnolo, e fattolo cercare, gli fece far la statua, &c. *Condiv. p.* 8. This statue was a just emblem of the fortunes of its founder.

genius, but they lived during the gentile state of the art (*a*). The light had now risen, and his young and ardent mind, conversant with the finest forms of antiquity, imbibed, as its genuine source, a relish for their excellence. With the specimens of ancient art, the depositaries of ancient learning were unlocked to him, and of these also he made no inconsiderable use. As a poet he is entitled to rank high amongst his countrymen; and the triple wreaths of painting, sculpture, and architecture, with which his disciples decorated his tomb, might, without exaggeration, have been interwoven with a fourth (*b*).

His sculptures.

Of the sculptures of Michelagnolo, some yet remain in an unfinished state, which strikingly display the comprehension of his ideas and the rapidity of his execution. Such are the bust of Brutus, and the statue of a female figure, in the gallery at Florence. In the latter the chisel has been handled with such boldness, as to induce a connoisseur of our own country to conjecture that it would be

(*a*) Michelagnolo, ch' ebbe sì grande ingegno, non trasse dal suo proprio fondo la sua arte, nè con quello solo avrebbe trovata la strada di uscir da' limiti di quello stile secco, e servile, che fin allora regnava in Italia; e senza un grande studio, nè senza l' osservazione delle statue antiche, non sarebbe stato forse che uguale a un Donatello, e a un Ghiberti.

Opere di Mengs, v. ii. *p.* 189.

(*b*) The poems of Michelagnolo were published by his great-nephew Michelagnolo Buonarroti il Giovane, at Florence, in 1623, and are ranked with the *Testi di Lingua* of Italian literature. They were again reprinted at Florence in 1726, with the *Lezzioni* of Benedetto Varchi, and Mario Guiducci, on some of his sonnets. Tenhove has justly appreciated their merits. "Les sonnets & les *Canzoni* de Michelange ne sont point chargès d' ornemens ambitieux; ils se ressentent de l' austère simplicité de son génie: cependant rien ne le fait autant valoir, que la main dont il sont partie."

Mem. Gen. liv. xix. *p.* 317.

be necessary, in the finishing, to restore the cavities (*a*). Perhaps a more involuntary homage was never paid to genius, than that which was extorted from the sculptor Falconet, who having presumed upon all occasions to censure the style of Michelagnolo, without having had an opportunity of inspecting any of his works, at length obtained a sight of two of his statues, which were brought into France by cardinal Richelieu. *I have seen Michelagnolo*, exclaimed the French artist, *he is terrific* (*b*).

The labours of the painter are necessarily transitory, for so are the materials that compose them. In a few years Michelagnolo will be known, like an ancient artist, only by his works in marble. Already it is difficult to determine, whether his reputation be enhanced or diminished by the sombre representations of his pencil in the Pauline and Sixtine chapels, or by the few specimens of his cabinet pictures, now rarely to be met with, and exhibiting only a shadow of their original excellence. But the chief merit of this great man is not to be sought for in the remains of his pencil, nor even in his sculptures, but in the general improvement of the public taste which followed his astonishing productions. If his labours had perished with himself, the change which they effected in the opinions and the works of his contemporaries would still have entitled him to the first honours of

(*a*) *Richardson, Description des Tabl. &c. vol.* iii. *p.* 87.

(*b*) "J'ai vu Michelange; *Il est effrayant.*" *Falcon. ap. Tenb.* The pieces which occasioned this exclamation were two of the statues intended to compose a part of the monument of Julius II.

of the art. Those who from ignorance, or from envy, have endeavoured to depreciate his productions, have represented them as exceeding in their forms and attitudes the limits and the possibilities of nature, as a race of beings, the mere creatures of his own imagination; but such critics would do well to consider, whether the great reform to which we have alluded could have been effected by the most accurate representations of common life, and whether any thing ſhort of that ideal excellence which he only knew to embody, could have accompliſhed so important a purpose. The genius of Michelagnolo was a leaven which was to operate on an immense and heterogeneous mass, the salt intended to give a relish to insipidity itself; it was therefore active, penetrating, energetic, so as not only effectually to resist the contagious effects of a depraved taste, but to communicate a portion of its spirit to all around.

Raffaello d'Urbino.

Of the contemporary artists of Michelagnolo, such only are entitled to high commendation as accompanied his studies, or availed themselves of his example. Among these appears the divine Raffaello; second to his great model only in that grandeur of design which elevates the mind, superior to him in that grace which interests the heart. Endowed, if not with vigour sufficient alone to effect a reform, with talents the best calculated to promote its progress (*a*). It is well known that the works of this

(*a*) Raffaello stesso ci ha lasciate nelle sue opere le tracce de' suoi studj; e senza le lezioni di Fra Bartolommeo, e la vista delle opere di Michelagnolo, e delle cose antiche, non goderemmo oggi le sue maravigliose pitture.

Op. di Mengs, v. ii. *p.* 189.

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this exquisite master form two distinct classes, those which he painted before, and those which he painted after he had caught from the new Prometheus a portion of the ethereal fire—those of the scholar of Perugino, and of the competitor of Michelagnolo. "Happy age," exclaims, with more than common animation, the historian of the painters, "and happy artists, for so I may well denominate you, "who have had the opportunity of purifying your eyes "at so clear a fountain; who have found your difficulties "removed, your crooked paths made straight by so won-"derful an artist: know then, and honour the man who "has enabled you to distinguish between truth and false-"hood, and let your gratitude be shewn in returning your "thanks to heaven, and in imitating Michelagnolo in all "things (*a*)."

Genius

(*a*) *Vasari vita di Michelagnolo.* Gianfrancesco Grazzini, called *Il Lasca*, also celebrates his countryman in the true Florentine idiom:

Giotto fu il primo, ch' alla dipintura,
Già lungo tempo morta, desse vita.
E Donatello messe la scultura
Nel suo dritto sentier, ch' era smarrita:
Così l' architettura
Storpiata, e guasta, alle man' de' Tedeschi,
Anzi quasi basita,
Da Pippo Brunelleschi,
Solenne Architettor, fu messa in vita;
Onde gloria infinita
Meritar questi tre spirti divini,
Nati in Firenze e nostri cittadini.
E di queste tre arti, i Fiorentini
Han sempre poi tenuto il vanto e'l pregio.
Dopo questo, l' egregio

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Michelagnolo unjustly censured.

Genius is ever obnoxious to that criticism which mediocrity escapes, nor has this test been wanting to the merits of Michelagnolo. The parasites of a vicious court, and a corrupt age, have not hesitated to charge him with indecency, in introducing naked figures in his celebrated picture of the last judgment. This accusation was made even in his lifetime, by one who called himself his friend, and who saw no impropriety in representing it as proceeding from the obscene lips of Pietro Aretino (*a*). It soon however became so prevalent, that in the pontificate of Paul IV. it was in contemplation to destroy this astonishing picture, which was at last only preserved by the expedient of covering those parts which were supposed to be likely

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Michelagnol divin, dal cielo eletto,
Pittor, scultore, architettor perfetto,
Che dove i primi tre maestri eccellenti
Gittaro i fondamenti,
Alle tre nobil' arti ha posto il tetto.
Onde meritamente,
Chiamato è dalla gente
Vero maestro, e padre del disegno, &c.
Il Lasca, sop. la dipintura della Cupola.

(*a*) In the dialogue of Lodovico Dolce on painting, intitled *L' Aretino*—Aretino, who is supposed to speak the sentiments of the author, observes, "Chi ardirà di affermar, che stia bene, che nella chiesa di San Pietro, prencipe degli apostoli, in una Roma, ove concurre tutto il mondo, nella cappella del Pontefice, il quale, come ben dice il Bembo, in terra ne assembra Dio, si veggano dipinti tanti ignudi, che dimostrano dishonestamente dritti e reversi: cosa nel vero, (favellando con ogni sommessione,) di quel santissimo luogo indegna." Fabrini, the other colloquialist, justifies Michelagnolo by alledging the example of Raffaello, who is said to have designed the lascivious prints engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi, under which the same Aretino wrote his infamous verses; but it is easy to see that such a justification is an admission of the charge. *Dolce, Dialog. p.* 236. *Ed. Flor.* 1735.

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likely to excite in the minds of the depraved spectators ideas unsuitable to the solemnity of the place. The painter who undertook this office was ever afterwards distinguished by the name of *Il Braghettone*. These inculpations were renewed in the succeeding century, by a man of talents and celebrity, who united, like Michelagnolo, the character of a painter and a poet, without having one idea in common with him (*a*). But what shall we say of an artist who could

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(*a*) Salvator Rosa, in his satire intitled *La Pittura*, relating instances of the arrogance and pride of his predecessors, introduces the well-known story of the critic *Biagio*, who, having censured the famous picture of the last judgment, was, in return, represented by Michelagnolo in a group of the damned. According to Salvator, Biagio thus addressed the painter:

Michel Agnolo mio, non parlo in gioco,
Questo che dipingete è un gran giudizio,
Ma del giudicio voi n' avete poco.
Io non vi tasso intorno al artifizio,
Ma parlo del costume, in cui mi pare
Che il vostro gran saper si cangi in vizio.
Sapevi pur che il figlio di Noè,
Perchè scoperse le vergogne al padre,
Tirò l'ira di Dio sovra di sè;
E voi, senza temer Christo e la Madre
Fate, che mostrin le vergogne parte,
Infin de' Santi quì l'intiere squadre.

And that it may not be imagined that Salvator did not himself approve the sentiments of the critic, he adds,

In udire il pittor queste proposte,
Divenuto di rabbia rosso, e nero,
Non potè proferir le sue risposte;
Nè potendo di lui l'orgoglio altero
Sfogare il suo furor per altre bande,
Dipinse nell' inferno il Cavaliero.

Satir. di Salv. Rosa. Ed. Lond. 1791.

could mingle with the contemplation of a subject so interesting to all mankind, which unites every thing terrible and sublime, and absorbs all other passions, an idea that can only have a relation to the decorums of modern life, and to that factitious decency which, by affecting concealment, acknowledges a pruriency of imagination, to which true taste, as well as true modesty, is a stranger?

Other artists favoured by Lorenzo.

The favours of Lorenzo de' Medici were not however exclusively bestowed. Although he well knew how to appreciate and to reward extraordinary excellence, he was not inattentive to the just claims of those who made a proficiency in any branch of the arts. Where the indication of talents appeared, he was solicitous to call them into action, to accelerate their progress, and to repay their success. "It is highly deserving of notice," says Vasari, "that all those who studied in the gardens of the Medici, "and were favoured by Lorenzo, became most excellent "artists, which can only be attributed to the exquisite "judgment of this great patron of their studies, who "could not only distinguish men of genius, but had both "the will and the power to reward them (*a*)." By his kindness the eminent sculptor Rustici was placed under the

Gianfrancesco Rustici.

(*a*) È gran cosa ad ogni modo, che tutti coloro, i quali furono nella scuola del Giardino de' Medici, e favoriti dal Mag. Lorenzo vecchio, furono tutti eccellentissimi; la qual cosa d'altronde non può essere avvenuta, se non dal molto, anzi infinito giudizio di quel nobilissimo signore, vero Mecenate degli uomini virtuosi; il quale come sapeva conoscere gl' ingegni, e spirti elevati, così poteva e sapeva riconoscergli e premiargli. *Vasari vita del Rustici.*

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the care of Andrea Verocchio (*a*), where he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci; but although he availed himself of the friendship and the instructions of this wonderful man, he acknowledged Lorenzo as the parent of his studies (*b*).

Francesco Granacci.

Francesco Granacci, the fellow-student of Michelagnolo, partook also of the favour of Lorenzo, and was occasionally employed by him in preparing the splendid pageants with which he frequently amused the citizens of Florence; in the decoration of which Granacci displayed uncommon taste (*c*). The reputation acquired by the pupils of S. Marco soon extended beyond the limits of Italy.

Andrea Contucci.

At the request of the king of Portugal, Lorenzo sent into that country Andrea Contucci, where he left various monuments of his talents in sculpture and architecture (*d*). The encouragement afforded by him to the professors of every branch of the arts,

(*a*) Portandosi dunque benissimo Giovanfrancesco Rustici, cittadin Fiorentino, nel disegnare, e fare di terra, mentre era giovinetto, fu da esso magnifico Lorenzo, il quale lo conobbe spiritoso, e di bello e buon ingegno, messo a stare, perchè imparasse, con Andrea del Verocchio, &c.

Vasari vita del Rustici.

(*b*) Essendo poi tornata in Fiorenza la Famiglia de' Medici, Il Rustico si fece conoscere al Cardinale Giovanni, per creatura di Lorenzo suo padre, e fu ricevuto con molte carrezze. *Ibid.*

(*c*) Francesco Granacci —— fu uno di quelli, che dal Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fu messo a imparare nel suo giardino, &c. E perchè era molto gentile, e valeva assai in certe galanterie, che per feste di carnovale si fecevano nella città, fu sempre in molte cose simili dal Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici adoperato. *Vasari vita di Fr. Granac.*

(*d*) Per queste, e per l'altre opere d' Andrea, divulgatosi il nome suo, fu chiesto al magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de' Medici, nel cui giardino avea, come

arts, may be estimated in some degree by the numerous pieces executed at his expence by the first masters of the time, accounts of which are occasionally dispersed through the voluminous work of Vasari. Like his ancestor Cosmo, Lorenzo often forgot the superiority of the patron in the familiarity of the friend, and not only excused but delighted in the capriciousness which frequently distinguishes men of talents. In this number was Niccolo Grosso, a Florentine citizen, who wrought ornaments in iron with extraordinary skill. Conscious of his merits, Niccolo resolved to labour only for those who paid him ready money, referring his employers to the sign suspended at his door, which represented books of account destroyed in the flames. Lorenzo, desirous of presenting to some of his powerful friends abroad a specimen of Florentine ingenuity, called upon Niccolo to engage him to execute for him a piece of his workmanship; but the surly artizan, who was busy at his anvil, instead of acknowledging the honour intended him, bluntly told Lorenzo that he had other customers who, having first applied, must be first served. The invincible pertinacity of Niccolo, in refusing to work till he had received his usual deposit, occasioned Lorenzo to give him the name of *Il Caparra* (*a*), by which he was ever afterwards generally known (*b*).

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si è detto, atteso a gli studj del disegno, dal re di Portagallo, perchè mandatogli da Lorenzo, lavorò per quel re molte opere di scultura, e d' architettura, e particùlarmente un bellissimo pallazzo, &c. *Vasar. vita di Contucci.*

(*a*) From *Arrha*, *Arrhabo*, a pledge, or earnest.

(*b*) *Vasari vita di Simone detto il Cronica.*

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Lorenzo encourages the study of architecture.

The study of architecture, as revived by Brunelleschi, received additional support from the encouragement afforded by Lorenzo de' Medici, who, to the munificence of his grandfather, superadded a knowledge of this science equal to that of a practical artist. At his instance, and often at his individual expence, the city of Florence was ornamented with a profusion of elegant buildings, as well for private residence, as public purposes. Convinced that the art was founded on fixed and determined principles, which were only to be discovered in the labours of the ancients, he justly reprobated those professors who, neglecting the rules of Vitruvius, followed only the variable suggestions of their own fancy. Nor was he less severe on those who, without any previous knowledge of the art, conceived themselves equal to the task of conducting a building on an extensive scale, and, in the erection of their dwellings, chose to become their own architects. "Such people," said Lorenzo, "buy repentance at too "dear a rate (*a*)." Of this description was his relation, Francesco de' Medici, who having erected a large house at Maiano, and made several alterations in its progress, complained to Lorenzo of the great expence with which it had been attended: "That is not to be wondered at," replied Lorenzo, "when, instead of erecting your building "from a model, you draw your model from your build-"ing (*b*)." His superior judgment in works of this kind was

(*a*) Illos vel maxime reprehendere solebat quicumque in diem temere ædificarent, eos dicens *caro admodum emere pœnitentiam*. *Valor. in vitâ, p.* 63.

(*b*) *Valor. ut supra.*

was acknowledged on many occasions. Ferdinand, king of Naples, intending to build a palace, conceived no one more competent to direct him in the choice of a plan than Lorenzo. His assistance was also sought for on a similar occasion by the duke of Milan; and Filippo Strozzi, in the erection of a mansion, which in grandeur of design and richness of execution is not inferior to a royal residence, availed himself greatly of his advice and directions (*a*). It does not however appear, that Lorenzo on any occasion thought proper to dispense with the aid of those who had made this art their more immediate study. Having formed the intention of erecting his palace at Poggio-Cajano, he obtained designs from several of the best architects of the time, and amongst the rest from Giuliano, the son of Paolo Giamberto, whose model was preferred by Lorenzo, and under whose directions the building was carried on; but in the construction of the picturesque and singular flight of steps, which communicated to every part with such convenience, that a person might ascend or descend even on horseback, Lorenzo availed himself of a design of Stefano d'Ugolino,

Giuliano da San Gallo.

(*a*) Multi enim, multa regia ædificia de Laurentii consilio extruxere. In quibus Philippi Strocticæ insulares ædes, quæ amplitudine sua, et grata membrorum dispositione, totiusque ædificii venustate et magnificentia superant, sine ulla controversia, non solum privatas domos, sed principales et regias. Magno area constitit in urbe media: impendium ad centum aureorum millia accessurum putatur. De modulo Philippus Laurentium consuluit, qui quidem aderat omnibus super hac re operam suam cupientibus, nec civilibus solum, sed etiam externis. *Valor. in vitâ, p.* 63. For a particular account of this splendid residence, *v. Vasari vita di Simone detto il Cronaca.*

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d'Ugolino, a painter of Siena, who died about the year 1350 (*a*). Lorenzo was desirous that the ceiling of the great hall should be formed by a single arch, but was apprehensive that it would not be practicable, on account of its extent. Giuliano was at that time erecting a residence for himself in Florence, where he took an opportunity of executing one in the manner suggested by Lorenzo, and succeeded so effectually as to remove his doubts on this head. The ceiling at Poggio-Cajano was accordingly completed, and is acknowledged to be the largest vaulted roof of modern workmanship that had then been seen (*b*). The talents of this artist induced Lorenzo to recommend him to Ferdinand king of Naples, to whom he presented, on the part of Lorenzo, the model of an intended palace. His reception was highly honourable. On his departure Ferdinand supplied him with horses, apparel, and other valuable articles, amongst which was a silver cup containing several hundred ducats. Giuliano, whilst he declined accepting it, expressed a desire that the king would gratify him with some specimen of ancient art, from his extensive collection, which might be a proof of his approbation. Ferdinand

(*a*) *Vasar. vita di Giuliano da San Gallo, v.* ii. *p.* 78.

(*b*) Giuliano had before been employed by Lorenzo in fortifying the town of Castellana, when that place was attacked by the duke of Calabria, in which he rendered essential services to his patron. The Florentines were at that time very defective in the use of their artillery, which they scarcely ventured to approach, and which frequently occasioned fatal accidents to those who directed it; but the ingenuity of the young architect remedied this defect; in consequence of which the army of the duke was so severely cannonaded as to be obliged to raise the siege. *Vasar. ut supra.*

Ferdinand accordingly presented him with a bust of the emperor Adrian, a statue of a female figure larger than life, and a sleeping Cupid; all of which Giuliano immediately sent to Lorenzo, who was no less pleased with the liberality of the artist, than with the acquisition of so valuable a treasure (*a*). At the request of the celebrated Mariano Genazano, Lorenzo had promised to erect, without the gate of San Gallo at Florence, a monastery capable of containing one hundred monks. On the return of Giuliano to Florence, he engaged him in this work, whence he obtained the name of *San Gallo*, by which he was always afterwards distinguished (*b*). Whilst this building was carrying forwards, Giuliano was also employed by Lorenzo in designing and erecting the extensive fortifications of Poggio Imperiale, preparatory to the founding a city on that spot, as was his intention (*c*). To this artist, who arrived at great eminence in the ensuing century, and to his brother Antonio, architecture is indebted for the completion of the Tuscan order, as now established; and for considerable improvements in the Doric.

Besides the many magnificent works begun under the immediate directions of Lorenzo, he sedulously attended to

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(*a*) *Vasar. vita di Giuliano da San Gallo.*

(*b*) Giuliano remonstrated with Lorenzo on this alteration.—"By your "calling me *San Gallo*," said he, "I shall lose my name, and instead of be- "coming respectable by the antiquity of my family, I shall have to found it "anew." "Surely," said Lorenzo, "it is more honourable to be the founder "of a new family by your own talents, than to rest your reputation on the "merits of others." *Vasar. ut supra.*

(*c*) *Vasar. ut supra.*

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to the completion of such buildings as had been left imperfect by his ancestors. On the church of S. Lorenzo, the building of which was begun by his great grandfather Giovanni, and continued by his grandfather Cosmo, he expended a large sum. At the request of Matteo Bosso he also completed the monastery begun by Brunelleschi at Fiesole (*a*), at the same time expressing his regret that he should have rendered it necessary to solicit him to do that which he conceived to be an indispensable duty (*b*).

Attempts to renew the practice of Mosaic.

Amongst the various kinds of picturesque representation practised by the Greeks and Romans, and transmitted by them to after-times, is that of Mosaic; a mode of execution, which, in its durability of form and permanency of colour, possesses distinguished advantages, being unaffected by drought or moisture, heat or cold, and perishing only with the building to which it has been originally attached. This art, during the middle ages, had experienced the same vicissitudes as attended all those with which it is so nearly connected. Some attempts had, however, been made to restore it by Andrea Tafi, the contemporary of Giotto (*c*); and even Giotto himself had cultivated it, not without success, although the celebrated picture over the great door of St. Peter at Rome, called the *Navicella di Giotto*, is said to be a more modern work, copied from a former one

(*a*) The letter of Bosso, which was addressed to Lorenzo in the height of his prosperity, and touches upon many circumstances of his life and character, is given from the *Recuperationes Fesulanæ*, in the Appendix, *No.* LXXVI.

(*b*) *Fabr. in vitâ, v.* i. *p.* 148.

(*b*) *Vasar. vita di Andrea.*

one of that artist (*a*). Lorenzo was desirous of introducing this mode of execution into more general practice. On expressing to Graffione, a Florentine painter, his intention of ornamenting with work of this kind the vault of a large cupola, the painter ventured to observe to him that he had not artists equal to the task: "We have money enough "to make them," replied Lorenzo; and although Graffione still continued incredulous (*b*), Lorenzo soon afterwards met with a person who suited his purpose in the painter Gherardo, who had generally applied himself to works in miniature. The specimen produced by Gherardo for the inspection of Lorenzo was a head of S. Zenobio, with which he was so well pleased, that he resolved to enlarge the chapel of that saint at Florence, in order to give the artist an oppportunity of exhibiting his talents in a wider field. With Gherardo he associated Domenico Ghirlandajo, as a more complete master of design, and the work was commenced with great spirit. Vasari assures us, that if death had not interposed, there was reason to believe from the part that was executed, that these artists would have performed wonderful things (*c*).

But

(*a*) *Tenh. Mem. Geneal. liv.* vii. *p.* 131.

(*b*) Graffione, with that familiarity which the artists appear to have used towards Lorenzo, replied, "Eh Lorenzo, i danari non fanni i maestri, ma i "maestri fanno i danari."

(*c*) By whose death the further progress of this work was interrupted, may be doubted. The words of Vasari are, "Per lo che Gherardo, assotigliando "l'ingegno, harebbe fatto con Domenico mirabilissime cose, se la morte non "vi si fusse interposta; come si può giudicare dal principio della detta ca-"pella, che rimase imperfetta." But, by a subsequent passage in the life of Ghirlandajo, it seems it was the death of Lorenzo that prevented the comple-

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Invention of engraving on copper.

But if the attempts made by Lorenzo to restore the practice of Mosaic were thus in a great degree frustrated, a discovery was made about the same period which proved an ample substitute for it, and which has given to the works of the painter that permanency which even the durability of Mosaic might not perhaps have supplied. This was the art of transferring to paper impressions from engravings on copper, or other metals; an invention which has tended more than any other circumstance to diffuse throughout Europe a just and general taste for the arts.

This discovery is attributed by the Italians to Maso, or Tomaso Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, who being accustomed to engrave on different metals, for the purpose of inlaying them, occasionally tried the effects of his work by taking off impressions, first on sulphur, and afterwards on paper, by means of a roller, in such a manner that the figures seemed to have been traced with a pen. It does not appear that Finiguerra ever applied this invention to any other purpose than that of ascertaining the progress of his work; nor have the researches of the most diligent inquirers discovered a single print that can with any degree of probability be attributed to him; but Baccio Baldini, another goldsmith, conceiving that this discovery might be applied to more important purposes, began to engrave on metals, solely with a view of transmitting impressions to paper. Possessing, however, no great skill in

tion of the work, " —— come, per la morte del predetto Magnifico Lorenzo, " rimase imperfetta in Fiorenza la Capella di S. Zanobi, comminciata a lavo- " rare di Musaico Domenico in compagnia di Gherardo miniatore."

in design, he prevailed on Sandro Botticello to furnish him with drawings suitable for his purpose. The concurrence of Antonio Pollajuoli, and Andrea Mantegna, carried the art to greater perfection. Of the works of the last-mentioned master many specimens yet remain, which do credit to his talents. The beginning of the ensuing century produced a much superior artist in Marcantonio Raimondi, by whose industry the numerous productions of Raffaello, the transcripts of his rich and creative mind, were committed to paper with an accuracy which he himself approved, and may serve as a standard to mark in future times the progress or the decline of the arts (*a*).

Whilst

(*a*) The credit of having given rise to this elegant and useful art has been contended for by different countries, and their various pretensions have been weighed and considered by many authors. It is however generally agreed, that it begun with the goldsmiths, and was afterwards adopted by the painters. The union of these two professions has thus produced a third, which has risen to considerable importance. The Germans, who have disputed with the Italians the honour of the invention with the greatest degree of plausibility, have not in point of fact controverted the narrative given by the Italians of the rise of the art, nor brought forwards any account of their own, but have simply endeavoured to shew that it was practised in Germany at an earlier period. Mr. Heineken asserts, that the earliest prints engraved in Italy that bear a date, are the maps to the edition of Ptolemy, printed at Rome in 1478; the earliest picturesque representations, those prefixed to some of the cantos of Dante in 1482; whilst he adduces instances of German execution that bear the date of 1466, by comparing the manner of which with other pieces, apparently of earlier workmanship, he conjectures that the art had its rise in Germany about the year 1440. *Idée Generale, p.* 232. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.* I shall only observe, that little dependance is to be placed on conjectures from prints without a date, particularly those of German workmanship, as the artists of that country continued to produce them in the most rude and Gothic style, both as to design and execution, long after the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Albert Durer, and Luca van Leyden had set them a better example. On the other

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Revival of engraving on gems and stones.

Whilst the art of transferring to paper impressions from copper was thus first practised, that of engraving in gems and stones was again successfully revived. The predilection of Lorenzo de' Medici for the beautiful specimens of skill which the ancients have left in materials of this nature, has frequently been noticed (*a*). Of those which

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hand, impartiality obliges me to remark, that Tiraboschi, who strenuously claims for his countrymen the merit of the discovery, has not discussed this subject with his usual accuracy. First, he is mistaken in asserting that Baldinucci fixes the commencement of the art in the beginning of the fifteenth century. *Storia della Lett. Ital. v.* ii. *p.* 2. *p.* 399. Baldinucci only says in general, that the art had its beginning in the fifteenth century. "*Quest' arte ebbe suo prin-*" *cipio nel secolo del* 1400." Secondly, on the authority of a document produced by Manni, he supposes that Tomaso Finiguerra, the inventor of the art, died prior to the year 1424; but both Vasari and Baldinucci inform us, that the Finiguerra in question was contemporary with Pollajuolo, who was only born in 1426. It is singular that this judicious author did not reflect how slight that evidence must be which rests merely on similarity of name, particularly in Florence, where, for the sake of distinction, it was often necessary to resort to the patronymics for several generations. *v. Vasari, vite de' Pittori, passim. Baldinucci commincíamento e progresso dell' arte dell' intagliare in Rame. Fir.* 1686. *Heineken Idée generale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes, &c.*

(*a*) The collection of antiques formed by Lorenzo is thus celebrated by a contemporary author:

Cælatum argento, vel fulvo quidquid in auro est
Ædibus hoc, LAURENS, vidimus esse tuis,
Praxitelis, Phœnicis, Aristonis, atque Myrònis
Fingere tam doctæ quod potuere manus
Cunachus, aut Mentor, Pythias, vel uterque Polycles
Lysippus quidquid, Callimachusque dedit.
Quæ collegisti miro virtutis amore
Magnanimum reddunt nomen ubique tuum.
Artificum monumenta foves, referuntur in auro
Argento, tabulis, et lapide ora Deûm.

F. Camerlini, ap. Band. Cat. Bibl. Laur. v. iii. *p.* 545.

which once formed a part of his immense collection, some occasionally occur that seem to have been the objects of his more particular admiration, and bear upon some conspicuous part the name of their former proprietor, thus expressed, LAVR. MED. (*a*). Nor is it improbable that Michelagnolo, who passed among these treasures a considerable portion of his time, was indebted to the liberality of Lorenzo

(*a*) These letters appear on a cameo in onyx of different colours, representing the entry of Noah and his family into the ark, of which an engraving is given by Gori in his edition of the life of Michelagnolo by Condivi. Among the gems or cameos of this description, of which I have met with impressions, or *gessi*, are those of Diomed with the palladium, or a large oval cameo, in which the letters LAUR. MED. are engraved on the side of the rock or stone on which he sits—A centaur, with the letters engraved on the exergue—Dædalus fixing on the wings of Icarus; the inscription is on the pedestal upon which Icarus stands, extending his wings over the upper part of the piece; and lastly, the celebrated gem representing Apollo and Marsyas, of which I shall transcribe a more particular account from the excellent work of Mr. Tenhove. " La gravûre antique qui servait de cachet à Laurent, et qui apartient encore " au Grand-Duc de Toscane, est un morceau accompli. Les suffrages qu'elle " a mérités dans tous les tems, sont suffisamment attestés par cette foule de " copies qui en ont été faites dans les tems anciens & modernes. Apollon dans " une attitude noble tient sa lyre, & regarde avec dédain Marsyas, qui, les " mains liées derriére le dos, et attaché à un arbre, attend la juste punition de " sa témérité. Le jeune Scythe qui doit exécuter la sentence, est à genoux " aux pieds d'Apollon, & semble implorer sa clémence. Le carquois & les " fléches du Dieu sont suspendus à une des branches de l'arbre, & sur la ter- " rasse sont les flûtes qui ont si mal servi le Satyre. Cette même pierre mon- " tée en bague avait autrefois décoré la main parricide de Néron; ce monstre " était dans l'usage d'en sceller ses sanguinares réscrits. On sçait qu'il eut la " folie de s'estimer le premier musicien de son tems, & par le choix qu'il fit " de ce sujet il voulut sans doute écarter les concurrens, & intimider ceux qui " oseraient entrer en lice avec lui. Peut-être même regarda-t'il sa main " gauche & prit-il Apollon pour modèle, lorsqu'il fit fouetter jusqu'au sang & " écorcher, pour ainsi dire, ce chanteur Menedême dont il était jaloux, & dont " les hurlemens mêmes lui parurent si mélodieux, qu'il ne pût s'empêcher d'y

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renzo for the beautiful Intaglio which he is supposed to have worn as his seal (*a*).

The protection and encouragement afforded by Lorenzo to every other branch of art, was not withheld from this his favourite department. From the early part of the fifteenth century, some specimens of the astonishing proficiency of the ancients in works of this nature had occasionally been discovered; and, as the public taste improved, they were sought for with avidity, and only to be purchased at considerable prices. In the pontificate of Martin V. and again in that of Paul II. some attempts had been made to rival, or at least to imitate, these productions, but the first artist whose name stands recorded in modern times, is Giovanni delle Corniuole, so called from his having generally exercised his skill upon the stone called a Cornelian. The museum of Lorenzo de' Medici was the school in which he studied. The proficiency he made corresponded to the advantages which he possessed, and answered the purposes which his liberal patron had in view. The numerous

" aplaudir avec transport.——Les vûes de Laurent étaient un peu plus raison-
" nables, sans doute il ne choisit cette pierre qu' à cause de la beauté merveil-
" leuse du travail.'"

(*a*) Chiaro documento si ha, che uno degli estimatori è raccoglitori intelligenti de' più preziosi avanzi dell' erudita antichità, e di gioie intagliate da eccellenti Maestri greci, e di medaglie, e di altre simili rarità, fu il Mag. Lorenzo, per tale celebrato, e riconosciuto dall' insigne Ezec. Spanemio nella Diss. i. *De præstan. et usu Numism. antiquor.* Nè è maraviglia se Michelagnolo potè acquistare la stupendissima gemma annulare, la quale passò poi nelle mani e nel tesoro del re Cristianissimo; e forse ch' anch' esso altre si fatte rarità averà acquistate de' più eccellenti artefici greci.

Gori. Notiz. Storic. sopra la vita di Michelagn. di Condivi, p. 101.

merous pieces of his workmanship in various sizes, and on various materials, were the admiration of all Italy. One of his most celebrated productions was the portrait of Savonarola, who was then in the meridian of his popularity at Florence. Giovanni immediately met with a formidable competitor in a Milanese, who also lost the name of his family in that of his art, and was called Domenico de' Camei. The likeness of Lodovico Sforza, engraved by Domenico in a large onyx, was considered as the most extraordinary specimen of modern skill. By these masters, and their scholars, this elegant, but unobtrusive branch of the fine arts kept pace with its more ostentatious competitors; and even in the most flourishing period of their elevation, under the pontificate of Leo X. the eye that had contemplated the divine sculptures of Michelagnolo, or had dwelt with delight on the paintings of Raffaello, or of Titian, might have turned with pleasure to the labours of Valerio Vicentino, or of Giovanni Bolognese, which compressed into the narrowest bounds the accurate representations of beauty, strength, or grace, and gave to the most inestimable productions of nature the highest perfection of art.

CHAP. X.

LORENZO de' MEDICI intends to retire from public life—Is taken sick and removes to Careggi—His conduct in his last sickness—Interview with Pico and Politiano—Savonarola visits him—Death of Lorenzo—His character—Review of his conduct as a statesman—Attachment of the Florentines to him—Circumstances attending his death—Testimonies of respect to his memory—Death of Innocent VIII. and accession of Alexander VI.—Irruption of the French into Italy—Expulsion of the Medici from Florence—Death of Ermolao Barbaro—Of Pico of Mirandula—Of Agnolo Politiano—Absurd accounts respecting the death of Politiano—His monody on Lorenzo—Politiano celebrated by Cardinal Bembo—Authentic account of his death—Disturbances excited by Savonarola—Adherents of the Medici decapitated—Disgrace and execution of Savonarola—Death of Piero de' Medici—His character—Sonnet of Piero de' Medici—Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici—Restoration of the family to Florence—Elevation of Leo X.—Leo promotes his relations—Restores his dominions to peace—Rise of the reformation—Age of Leo X.—The Laurentian Library restored—Giuliano de' Medici duke of Nemours—Ippolito de' Medici—Lorenzo de' Medici duke of Urbino—Alessandro de' Medici—Descendants of Lorenzo de' Medici the brother of Cosmo—Giovanni de' Medici—Lorenzo de' Medici—Alessandro assumes the sovereignty of Florence—Is assassinated by Lorenzino—Motives and consequences of the attempt—Cosmo de' Medici first grand duke—Death of Filippo Strozzi, and final extinction of the republic—Conclusion.

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THAT love of leisure which is inseparable from a mind conscious of its own resources, and the consideration of his declining state of health, were probably the motives that induced Lorenzo de' Medici to aim at introducing his two elder sons into public life at so early and almost premature an age. The infirmities under which he laboured not only disqualified him at times from attending with his accustomed vigilance to the affairs of the republic, but rendered it also necessary for him often to absent himself from Florence, and to pass some portion of his time at the warm baths in various parts of Italy, of which those of Siena and Porrettana afforded him the most effectual relief. At those seasons which were not embittered by sickness, he appears to have flattered himself with the ex-

Lorenzo intends to retire from public life.

pectation of enjoying the reward of his public labours, and partaking of the general happiness which he had so essentially contributed to promote, in a peaceful and dignified retirement, enlivened by social amusements, by philosophic studies, and literary pursuits. These expectations were built upon the most substantial foundation, the consciousness that he had discharged his more immediate duties and engagements; but his feelings on this occasion are best expressed in his own words (*a*): "What," says he, "can be more desirable to a well-regulated mind, than "the enjoyment of leisure with dignity? This is what "all good men wish to obtain, but which great men alone "accomplish. In the midst of public affairs we may in-"deed be allowed to look forwards to a day of rest; but "no rest should totally seclude us from an attention to "the concerns of our country. I cannot deny that the "path which it has been my lot to tread has been ardu-"ous and rugged, full of dangers, and beset with trea-"chery; but I console myself in having contributed to "the welfare of my country, the prosperity of which may "now rival that of any other state, however flourishing. "Nor have I been inattentive to the interests and advance-"ment of my own family, having always proposed to "my imitation the example of my grandfather Cosmo, "who watched over his public and private concerns with "equal vigilance. Having now obtained the object of my "cares, I trust I may be allowed to enjoy the sweets of "leisure, to share the reputation of my fellow-citizens, "and

(*a*) *Ap. Fabr. in vitâ Laur. v.* I. *p.* 196.

" and to exult in the glory of my native place." His intentions were more explicitly made known to his faithful companion Politiano, who relates, that sitting with him in his chamber a few days before his death, conversing on subjects of letters and philosophy, he then told him that he meant to withdraw himself as much as possible from the tumult of the city, and to devote the remainder of his days to the society of his learned friends; at the same time expressing his confidence in the abilities of his son Piero, on whom it was his intention that the conduct of the affairs of the republic should principally devolve (*a*).

Lorenzo is taken sick, and removes to Careggi.

This prospect of relaxation and happiness he was not however destined to realize. Early in the year 1492, the complaint under which he laboured attacked him with additional violence, and whilst the attention of his physicians was employed in administering relief, he contracted a slow fever, which escaped their observation, or eluded their skill, until it was too late effectually to oppose its progress. The last illness of Lorenzo de' Medici, like that of most other great men, is represented as being extraordinary in its nature. Politiano describes his disorder as a fever, of all others the most insidious, proceeding by insensible degrees, not like other fevers, by the veins or arteries, but attacking the limbs, the intestines, the nerves, and destroying the very principle of life. On the first approach of this dangerous complaint he had removed from Florence

(*a*) *Polit. Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 2. But Guicciardini informs us that Lorenzo was well aware of the real character of his son, " e si era spesso lamentato, con " li amici più intimi, che l'imprudenza ed arroganza del figliuolo, partori- " rebbe la rovina della sua casa." *Giuc. Hist. lib.* i.

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Florence to his house at Careggi, where his moments were enlivened by the society of his friends, and the respectful attentions of his fellow-citizens. For medical advice, his chief reliance was upon the celebrated Pier Leoni of Spoleto, whom he had frequently consulted on the state of his health; but as the disorder increased, further assistance was sought for, and Lazaro da Ticino, another physician, arrived at Careggi. It seems to have been the opinion of Politiano that the advice of Lazaro was too late resorted to; but if we may judge from the nature of the medicines employed by him, he rather contributed to accelerate than to avert the fatal moment. The mixture of amalgamated pearls and jewels, with the most expensive potions, might indeed serve to astonish the attendants, and to screen the ignorance of the physician, but were not likely to be attended with any beneficial effect on the patient. Whether it was in consequence of this treatment, or from the nature of the disorder itself, a sudden and unexpected alteration soon took place; and whilst his friends relied with confidence on the exertions made in his behalf, he sunk at once into such a state of debility as totally precluded all hopes of his recovery, and left him only the care of preparing to meet his doom in a manner consistent with the eminence of his character, and the general tenor of his life.

His conduct in his last sickness.

Notwithstanding the diversity of occupations which had successively engaged his attention, and the levity, not to say licentiousness, of some of his writings, the mind of Lorenzo had always been deeply susceptible of religious impressions. This appears not only from his attention to the establishment

establishment and reform of monastic houses (*a*), but from his *laudi*, or hymns, many of which breathe a spirit of devotion nearly bordering on enthusiasm. During his last sickness, this feature of his character became more prominent; nor did he judge it expedient, or perhaps think it excusable, to separate the essential from the ceremonial part of religion. Having therefore performed the offices of the church with peculiar fervor, and adjusted with sincerity and decorum his spiritual concerns, he requested a private interview with his son Piero, with whom he held a long and interesting conversation on the state of the republic, the situation of his family, and the conduct which it would be expedient for Piero to pursue. Of the precepts which he thought it necessary to inculcate on his successor, we derive some information from Politiano, which was probably obtained from the relation of his pupil (*b*). "I doubt not," said Lorenzo, "that you will hereafter "possess

(*a*) Of this several instances are given by his historian Valori, *p.* 58, *&c.*

(*b*) The circumstances preceding and attending the death of Lorenzo are minutely related by Politiano in a letter to Jacopo Antiquario, *lib.* iv. *Ep.* 2. upon the authority of which I have principally relied, as will be seen, without troubling the reader with continual references, by adverting to the letter in the Appendix, *No.* LXXVII. Fabroni has incorporated this letter in the body of his work, as both the narrative and the evidence of the facts it relates; but as Politiano has mingled with much authentic information many instances of that superstition which infested the age, and has, perhaps, shewn too unlimited a partiality to the family of his patrons, I have thought it incumbent on me to separate, according to the best of my judgment, the documents of history from the dreams of the nursery, and the representations of truth from the encomiums of the friend, leaving my reader to consult the original, and to adopt as much more of the account as he may think fit.

" possess the same weight and authority in the state " which I have hitherto enjoyed; but as the republic, al- " though it form but one body, has many heads, you " must not expect that it will be possible for you on all " occasions so to conduct yourself as to obtain the appro- " bation of every individual. Remember, therefore, in " every situation to pursue that course of conduct which " strict integrity prescribes, and to consult the interests " of the whole community, rather than the gratification " of a part." These admonitions, if attended to, might have preserved Piero from the ruin which the neglect of them soon brought down, and may yet serve as a lesson to those whose authority rests, as all authority must finally rest, on public opinion. The dutiful and patient attendance of Piero on his father during his sickness was however a pledge to Lorenzo that his last instructions would not be forgotten, and, by confirming the favourable sentiments which he appears to have entertained of the talents and the disposition of his son, served at least to alleviate the anxiety which he must have felt on resigning, thus prematurely, the direction of such a vast and rapid machine into young and inexperienced hands.

Interview between Lorenzo, Pico, and Politiano.

At this interesting period, when the mind of Lorenzo, relieved from the weight of its important concerns, became more sensibly alive to the emotions of friendship, Politiano entered his chamber. Lorenzo no sooner heard his voice than he called on him to approach, and, raising his languid arms, clasped the hands of Politiano in his own, at the same time stedfastly regarding him with a placid, and even a cheerful countenance. Deeply affected at this silent but unequivocal proof of esteem, Politiano

could not suppress his feelings, but, turning his head aside, attempted as much as possible to conceal his sobs and his tears. Perceiving his agitation, Lorenzo still continued to grasp his hand, as if intending to speak to him when his passion had subsided, but finding him unable to resist its impulse, he slowly, and as it were unintentionally relaxed his hold, and Politiano, hastening into an inner apartment, flung himself on a bed, and gave way to his grief. Having at length composed himself, he returned into the chamber, when Lorenzo again called to him, and inquired with great kindness why Pico of Mirandula had not once paid him a visit during his sickness. Politiano apologized for his friend, by assuring Lorenzo that he had only been deterred by the apprehension that his presence might be troublesome. "On the contrary," replied Lorenzo, "if his journey from the city be not "troublesome to him, I shall rejoice to see him before I take "my final leave of you." Pico accordingly came, and seated himself at the side of Lorenzo, whilst Politiano, reclining on the bed, near the knees of his revered benefactor, as if to prevent any extraordinary exertion of his declining voice, prepared for the last time to share in the pleasures of his conversation. After excusing himself to Pico for the task he had imposed upon him, Lorenzo expressed his esteem for him in the most affectionate terms, professing that he should meet his death with more cheerfulness after this last interview. He then changed the subject to more familiar and lively topics, and it was on this occasion that he expressed, not without some degree of jocularity, his wishes that he could have obtained a reprieve, until he could have completed the library destined to the use of his auditors.

This

Savonarola visits Lorenzo.

This interview was scarcely terminated when a visitor of a very different character arrived. This was the haughty and enthusiastic Savonarola, who probably thought, that in the last moments of agitation and of suffering, he might be enabled to collect materials for his factious purposes. With apparent charity and kindness, the priest exhorted Lorenzo to remain firm in the catholic faith; to which Lorenzo professed his strict adherence. He then required an avowal of his intention, in case of his recovery, to live a virtuous and well-regulated life; to this he also signified his sincere assent. Lastly, he reminded him, that, if needful, he ought to bear his death with fortitude. "With cheerfulness," replied Lorenzo, "if such be the will of God." On his quitting the room, Lorenzo called him back, and, as an unequivocal mark that he harboured in his bosom no resentment against him for the injuries which he had received, requested the priest would bestow upon him his benediction; with which he instantly complied, Lorenzo making the usual responses with a firm and collected voice (*a*).

No

(*a*) In the life of Savonarola, written in Latin, at considerable length, by Giovanfrancesco Pico prince of Mirandula, nephew of the celebrated Pico whom we have had occasion so frequently to mention, an account is given of this interview, which differs in its most essential particulars from that which is above related. If we may credit this narrative, Lorenzo, when at the point of death, sent to request the attendance of Savonarola, to whom he was desirous of making his confession. Savonarola accordingly came, but, before he would consent to receive him as a penitent, required that he should declare his adherence to the true faith; to which Lorenzo assented. He then insisted on a promise from Lorenzo, that if he had unjustly obtained the property of others, he would return it. Lorenzo, after a short hesitation, replied, "Doubtless, father, I shall do this, or, if it be not in my power, I shall enjoin "it as a duty upon my heirs." Thirdly, Savonarola required that he should

Death of Lorenzo.

No species of reputation is so cheaply acquired as that derived from death-bed fortitude. When it is fruitless to contend, and impossible to fly, little applause is due to that resignation which patiently awaits its doom. It is not therefore to be considered as enhancing that dignity of character which Lorenzo had so frequently displayed, that he sustained the last conflict with equanimity. "To judge "from his conduct, and that of his servants," says Politiano, "you would have thought that it was they who "momentarily expected that fate, from which he alone "appeared to be exempt." Even to the last the scintillations of his former vivacity were perceptible. Being asked, on taking a morsel of food, how he relished it, "As a "dying man always does," was his reply. Having affectionately embraced his surrounding friends, and submitted to the last ceremonies of the church, he became absorbed in meditation, occasionally repeating portions of scripture, and accompanying his ejaculations with elevated eyes, and solemn gestures of his hands, till the energies of life gradually declining, and pressing to his lips a magnificent crucifix, he calmly expired.

His character.

In the height of his reputation, and at a premature period of life, thus died Lorenzo de' Medici; a man who may be selected from all the characters of ancient and modern

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restore the republic to liberty, and establish it in its former state of independence; to which Lorenzo not choosing to make any reply, the priest left him without giving him his absolution. *Savonar. vita, inter vit. select. viror. ap. Bates. Lond.* 1704. A story that exhibits evident symptoms of that party-spirit which did not arise in Florence until after the death of Lorenzo, and which, being contradictory to the account left by Politiano, written before the motives for misrepresentation existed, is only rendered deserving of notice by the necessity of its refutation.

modern history, as exhibiting the most remarkable instance of depth of penetration, versatility of talent, and comprehension of mind (*a*). Whether genius be a predominating impulse, directing the mind to some particular object, or whether it be an energy of intellect that arrives at excellence in any department in which it may be employed, it is certain that there are few instances in which a successful exertion in any human pursuit has not occasioned a dereliction of many other objects, the attainment of which might have conferred immortality. If the powers of the mind are to bear down all obstacles that oppose their progress, it seems necessary that they should sweep along in some certain course, and in one collected mass. What then shall we think of that rich fountain which, whilst it was poured out by so many different channels, flowed through each with a full and equal stream? To be absorbed in one pursuit, however important, is not the characteristic of the higher class of genius, which, piercing through the various combinations, and relations of surrounding circumstances, sees all things in their just dimensions, and attributes to each its due. Of the various occupations in which Lorenzo engaged, there is not one in which he was not eminently successful; but he was most particularly distinguished in those which justly hold the first rank in human estimation. The facility with which he turned from subjects of

(*a*) "Soyons avares," says M. Tenhove, "du titre sacré de grand homme, "prodigué si souvent et si ridiculement aux plus minces personnages, mais ne "le refusons point à Laurent de Medicis. Malheur à l'ame froide et mal or-"ganisée, qui ne sentirait pas son extreme mérite! On peut en toute sureté "s'estimer de son admiration pour lui." *Mem. Gen. liv.* xi. *p.* 146.

of the highest importance to those of amusement and levity, suggested to his countrymen the idea that he had two distinct souls combined in one body. Even his moral character seems to have partaken in some degree of the same diversity, and his devotional poems are as ardent as his lighter pieces are licentious. On all sides he touched the extremes of human character, and the powers of his mind were only bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature.

Review of his conduct as a statesman.

As a statesman, Lorenzo de' Medici appears to peculiar advantage. Uniformly employed in securing the peace and promoting the happiness of his country by just regulations at home, and wise precautions abroad, and teaching to the surrounding governments those important lessons of political science, on which the civilization and tranquillity of nations have since been found to depend. Though possessed of undoubted talents for military exploits, and of sagacity to avail himself of the imbecility of neighbouring powers, he was superior to that avarice of dominion which, without improving what is already acquired, blindly aims at more extensive possessions. The wars in which he engaged were for security, not for territory; and the riches produced by the fertility of the soil, and the industry and ingenuity of the inhabitants of the Florentine republic, instead of being dissipated in imposing projects and ruinous expeditions, circulated in their natural channels, giving happiness to the individual, and respectability to the state. If he was not insensible to the charms of ambition, it was the ambition to deserve rather than to enjoy; and he was always cautious not to exact from the public favour more

CHAP. X.

than it might be voluntarily willing to bestow. The approximating suppression of the liberties of Florence, under the influence of his descendants, may induce suspicions unfavourable to his patriotism; but it will be difficult, not to say impossible, to discover, either in his conduct or his precepts, any thing that ought to stigmatize him as an enemy to the freedom of his country. The authority which he exercised was the same as that which his ancestors had enjoyed, without injury to the republic, for nearly a century, and had descended to him as inseparable from the wealth, the respectability, and the powerful foreign connexions of his family. The superiority of his talents enabled him to avail himself of these advantages with irresistible effect; but history suggests not an instance in which they were devoted to any other purpose than that of promoting the honour and the independence of the Tuscan state. It was not by the continuance, but by the dereliction of the system that he had established, and to which he adhered to the close of his life, that the Florentine republic sunk under the degrading yoke of despotic power; and to his premature death we may unquestionably attribute, not only the destruction of the commonwealth, but all the calamities that Italy soon afterwards sustained.

Attachment of the Florentines to Lorenzo.

The sympathies of mind, like the laws of chemical affinity, are uniform. Great talents attract admiration, the offering of the understanding; but the qualities of the heart can alone excite affection, the offering of the heart. If we may judge of Lorenzo de' Medici by the ardour with which his friends and contemporaries have expressed their

attachment, we shall form conclusions highly favourable to his sensibility and his social virtues. The exaction of those attentions usually paid to rank and to power, he left to such as had no other claims to respect; he rather chose to be considered as the friend and the equal, than as the dictator of his fellow-citizens. His urbanity extended to the lowest ranks of society; and while he enlivened the city of Florence by magnificent spectacles and amusing representations, he partook of them himself with a relish that set the example of festivity. It was the general opinion in Florence, that whoever was favoured by Lorenzo could not fail of success. Valori relates, that in the representation of an engagement on horseback, one of the combatants, who was supposed to contend under the patronage of Lorenzo, being overpowered and wounded, avowed his resolution to die rather than submit to his adversary, and it was not without difficulty that he was rescued from the danger, to receive from the bounty of Lorenzo the reward of his well-meant though mistaken fidelity.

Circumstances attending his death.

The death of Lorenzo, which happened on the eighth day of April 1492, was no sooner known at Florence than a general alarm and consternation spread throughout the city, and the inhabitants gave way to the most unbounded expressions of grief. Even those who were not friendly to the Medici lamented in this misfortune the prospect of the evils to come. The agitation of the public mind was increased by a singular coincidence of calamitous events, which the superstition of the people considered as portentous of approaching commotions. The physician, Pier Leoni, whose prescriptions had failed of success, being

apprized of the result, left Careggi in a state of distraction, and precipitated himself into a well in the suburbs of the city (*a*). Two days preceding the death of Lorenzo, the great dome of the *Reparata* was struck with lightning, and on the side which approached towards the chapel of the Medici, a part of the building fell. It was also observed that one of the golden *palle* or balls, in the emblazonment of the Medicean arms, was at the same time struck out. For three nights, gleams of light were said to have been perceived proceeding from the hill of Fiesole, and hovering above the church of S. Lorenzo, where the remains of the family were deposited. Besides these incidents, founded perhaps on some casual occurrence, and only

(*a*) Whether Leoni died a voluntary death has been doubted. The enemies of the Medici, who upon the death of Lorenzo began to meditate the ruin of his family, have accused Piero his son with the perpetration of the deed, and this opinion is openly avowed by Giacopo Sanazaro in an Italian poem in *terza Rima*, in which he has imitated Dante with great success, *v. App. No.* LXXVIII. But I must observe, that this poem bears internal evidence of its having been written after the Medici were driven from Florence, when their enemies were labouring by every possible means to render them odious. On the other hand, besides the testimony of Politiano that Leoni accelerated his own death, we have that of Petrus Crinitus (Piero Ricci), a contemporary author, who, in his treatise *De honesta Disciplina*, has a chapter *De hominibus qui se ipsos in puteum jaciant*, in which he thus adverts to the death of Leoni: "Sed enim quod nuper "accidit in Petro Leonio, mirificum certe visum est; quando is, et in philoso- "phia vir excellens, ac prudentia propé egregia in puteum se Florentino sub- "urbano immersit." *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 9. This circumstance is also related by Valerianus. *De infel. literatorum, lib.* i. It appears, however, from an account of the death of Lorenzo, published by Fabroni, from a MS. diary of an anonymous Florentine author yet preserved in the Magliabechi library, *Cod.* xvii. *Class.* 25. that Leoni entertained apprehensions for his safety from the attendants of Lorenzo, who, without just cause, suspected that he had occasioned his death by poison. I shall give the extract from this diary in the Appendix, *No.* LXXIX.

only rendered extraordinary by the workings of a heated imagination, many others of a similar kind are related by contemporary authors, which, whilst they exemplify that credulity which characterises the human race in every age, may at least serve to shew that the event to which they were supposed to allude was conceived to be of such magnitude as to occasion a deviation from the ordinary course of nature (*a*). From Careggi the body of Lorenzo was conveyed to the church of his patron saint, amidst the tears and lamentations of all ranks of people, who bewailed the loss of their faithful protector, the glory of their city, the companion of their amusements, their common father and friend. His obsequies were without ostentation, he having a short time before his death given express directions to that effect. Not a tomb or an inscription marks the place that received his ashes; but the stranger, who, smitten with the love of letters and of arts, wanders amidst the splendid monuments erected to the chiefs of this illustrious family, the work of Michelagnolo and of his powerful competitors, whilst he looks in vain for that inscribed with the name of Lorenzo, will be reminded of his glory by themall.

Throughout

(*a*) *Ficinus in fine Plotini. Flor.* 1492. *Ammir. lib.* xxvi. *v.* iii. *p.* 186. Even Machiavelli, an author seldom accused of superstition, seems on this occasion to concede his incredulity to the general opinion. "Ne morì mai alcuno, non solamente in Firenze, ma in Italia, con tanta fama di prudenza, nè che tanto alla sua patria dolesse. E come dalla sua morte ne dovesse nascere grandissime rovine, ne mostrò il cielo molti evidentissimi segni, &c. *Hist. lib.* viii. This author concludes his celebrated history, as Guicciardini begins, with the highest eulogium on the character of Lorenzo.

Testimonies of respect to his memory.

Throughout the rest of Italy the death of Lorenzo was regarded as a public calamity of the most alarming kind. Of the arch which supported the political fabric of that country he had long been considered as the centre, and his loss seemed to threaten the whole with immediate destruction. When Ferdinand, king of Naples, was informed of this event, he exclaimed, "this man has lived "long enough for his own glory, but too short a time for "Italy (*a*)." Such of the Italian potentates as were more nearly connected with the Medici sent ambassadors to Florence on this occasion. Letters of condolance were transmitted to Piero from almost all the sovereigns of Europe. Many distinguished individuals also paid this last tribute to the memory of their friend and benefactor (*b*). Among these communications, dictated by flattery, by friendship, and by political motives, there is one of a more interesting nature. This is a letter from the young cardinal Giovanni de' Medici to his elder brother, written four days after the death of their father, which evinces that the cardinal was not without apprehensions from the temper and disposition of Piero, and does equal honour to his prudence and to his filial piety.

The

(*a*) "Satis sibi vir immortalitate dignissimus vixit, sed parum Italiæ. "Utinam ne quis eo sublato, moliatur, quæ vivo, tentare ausus non fuisset." In which Ferdinand was supposed to allude to Lod. Sforza.

Fabr. vita Laur. v. i. *p.* 212.

(*b*) These letters, forming a collection in two volumes, are yet preserved in *MS.* in the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, *Filz.* XXV. *No.* XV.

The Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, at Rome, to Piero de' Medici, at Florence.

" My dearest brother, now the only support of our " family; what I have to communicate to thee, except " my tears, I know not; for when I reflect on the loss " we have sustained in the death of our father, I am " more inclined to weep than to relate my sorrow. What " a father have we lost! How indulgent to his children! " Wonder not then that I grieve, that I lament, that I " find no rest. Yet, my brother, I have some consolation " in reflecting that I have thee, whom I shall always " regard in the place of a father. Do thou command— " I shall cheerfully obey. Thy injunctions will give me " more pleasure than I can express—order me—put me to " the test, there is nothing that shall prevent my compli- " ance. Allow me however, my Piero, to express my hopes, " that in thy conduct to all, and particularly to those around " thee, I may find thee as I could wish—beneficent, liberal, " affable, humane; by which qualities there is nothing but " may be obtained, nothing but may be preserved. Think " not that I mention this from any doubt that I entertain " of thee, but because I esteem it to be my duty. Many " things strengthen and console me; the concourse of " people that surround our house with lamentations, the " sad and sorrowful appearance of the whole city, the " public mourning, and other similar circumstances, these " in a great degree alleviate my grief; but that which " relieves me more than all the rest, is, that I have thee, " my brother, in whom I place a confidence that no words " can describe, &c. *Ex urbe, die 12th Ap.* 1492 (*a*)."

The

(*a*) For the orignal, *v. App. No.* LXXX.

The common mediator of Italy being now no more, the same interested and unenlightened motives which had so often rendered that country the seat of treachery and of bloodshed again began to operate, and the ambitious views of the different sovereigns became the more dangerous as they were the more concealed. Such was the confidence which they had placed in Lorenzo, that not a measure of importance was determined on by any of them without its being previously communicated to him, when, if he thought it likely to prove hostile to the general tranquillity, he was enabled either to prevent its execution, or at least to obviate its ill effects; but upon his death a general suspicion of each other took place, and laid the foundation of the unhappy consequences that soon afterwards ensued. The impending evils of Italy were accelerated by the death of Innocent VIII. who survived Lorenzo only a few months, and still more by the elevation to the pontificate of Roderigo Borgia, the scourge of Christendom, and the opprobrium of the human race (*a*).

Death of Innocent VIII. and accession of Alexander VI.

Piero

(*a*) A striking instance of the influence which Lorenzo had obtained over the mind of Innocent VIII. appears from one of his unpublished letters preserved in the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence (*Filz.* lix. *No.* xiv), dated the 16th day of June 1488, from which we collect, that the pope had transmitted to him the list of an intended promotion of cardinals, which Lorenzo returns, informing him that he approves of the nomination of such of them whose names he has marked with a pen, and exhorting him to carry his intentions with respect to them into execution, concluding his letter with reminding the pope *chè se può consolare ancor lui, se ne ricordi*. In fact, the assumption of Giovanni de' Medici to the purple took place early in the following year; and as Innocent VIII. only made one promotion of cardinals during his pontificate, it appears that Lorenzo had sufficient address to procure the name of his son, who was then only thirteen years of age, to be included in the list.

Irruption of the French into Italy.

Piero de' Medici, on whom the eyes and expectations of the public were turned, gave early indications that he was unable to sustain the weight that had devolved upon him. Elated with the authority derived from his father, but forgetting the admonitions by which it was accompanied, he relaxed the reins that controlled all Italy, to grasp at the supreme dominion of his native place. For this purpose he secretly formed a more intimate connexion with the king of Naples and the pope, which being discovered by the penetrating eye of Lodovico Sforza, raised in him a spirit of jealousy, which the professions and assurances of Piero could never allay. An interval of dissatisfaction, negotiation, and distrust took place, till at length the solicitations of Lodovico and the ambition of Charles VIII. brought into Italy a more formidable and warlike race, whose arrival spread a general terror and alarm, and convinced, too late, the states and sovereigns of that country of the folly of their mutual dissensions. Even Lodovico himself, who in the expectation of weakening his rivals, and of vesting in himself the government of Milan, had incessantly laboured to accomplish this object, no sooner saw its approach than he shrunk from it in terror; and whilst he was obliged, for the sake of consistency, to persevere in exhorting Charles to proceed in his enterprize against the kingdom of Naples, he endeavoured by secret emissaries to excite against him the most formidable opposition of the Italian powers. Lodovico having for this purpose dispatched an envoy to Florence, Piero conceived that he had obtained a favourable opportunity of convincing the king of France of the insincerity of his pretended ally, and thereby of deterring him from the further pro-

secution of his undertaking; but, however laudable his purpose might be, the means which he adopted for its accomplishment reflect but little credit on his talents. In the palace of the Medici was an apartment which communicated with the gardens by a secret door, constructed by Lorenzo de' Medici for the purpose of convenience and retirement. In this room, Piero, pretending to be sick, contrived an interview with the agent of Lodovico, whilst the envoy of Charles VIII. secreted behind the door, was privy to their conversation (*a*). Whether Piero had not the address to engage the Milanese sufficiently to develope the views of his master, or whether the French envoy found the Italian politicians equally undeserving of confidence, rests only on conjecture; but the communication of this incident to Charles tended not in the slightest degree to avert the impending calamity. On the contrary, the conduct of Piero being made known to Lodovico, rendered any further communication between them impossible, and by preventing that union of the Italian states, which alone could have opposed with effect the further progress of the French arms, facilitated an enterprize that could owe its success only to the misconduct of its opponents (*b*).

Expulsion of the Medici from France.

This unfortunate event led the way to another incident more immediately destructive to the credit and authority of Piero de' Medici. Charles, at the head of his troops, had, without resistance, reached the confines of the Florentine state, and had attacked the town of Sarzana, which Lorenzo,

(*a*) *Oricell. de bello Ital. p.* 24.

(*b*) *Guicciard. Hist. d' Italia, lib.* i.

renzo, after having recovered it from the Genoese, had strongly fortified. The approach of such a formidable body of men, the reputation they had acquired, and the atrocities they had committed in their progress, could not fail of exciting great consternation in Florence, where the citizens began freely to express their dissatisfaction with Piero de' Medici, who they asserted had, by his rash and intemperate measures, provoked the resentment of a powerful sovereign, and endangered the very existence of the republic. This crisis suggested to Piero the situation in which his father stood, when, in order to terminate a war which threatened him with destruction, he had hastened to Naples, and, placing himself in the power of an avowed enemy, had returned to Florence with the credentials of peace (*a*). The present season appeared to him favourable for a similar attempt; but, as Guicciardini judiciously observes, it is dangerous to guide ourselves by precedent, unless the cases be exactly alike; unless the attempt be conducted with equal prudence, and, above all, unless it be attended with the same good fortune (*b*). The impetuosity of Piero prevented him from observing these distinctions—hastening to the French camp, he threw himself at the feet of Charles, who received his submission with coldness and disdain (*c*). Finding his entreaties ineffectual, he became lavish in his offers to promote the interests of the king,

(*a*) *v. ante, Vol.* I. *p.* 218.

(*b*) *Guicciard. Hiſt. d' Italia, lib.* i.

(*c*) *Oricell. de bello Ital. p.* 39.

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king, and, as a pledge of his fidelity, proposed to deliver up to him not only the important fortress of Sarzana, which had till then successfully resisted his attacks, but also the town of Pietra Santa, and the cities of Pisa and Leghorn, Charles at the same time undertaking to restore them, when he had accomplished his conquest of the kingdom of Naples (*a*). The temerity of Piero in provoking the resentment of Charles, added to his inability to ward off, and his pusillanimity in resisting the blow, completed what his ambition and his arrogance had begun, and for ever deprived him of the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. On his return to Florence, after this disgraceful compromise, he was refused admittance into the palace of the magistrates, and, finding that the people at large were so highly exasperated against him as to endanger his personal safety, he hastily withdrew himself from his native place, and retreated to Venice (*b*). The distress

(*a*) The French were themselves astonished at the prodigality of Piero, and the facility with which he delivered into their hands places of so much importance. "Ceux qui traitoyent avec Pierre," says P. de Commines, "m'ont compté, & a plusiers autres l'ont dit, en se raillant & moquant de "lui, qu'ils etoient ebahis comme si tot accordia si grand chose, & a quoi ils "ne s'attendoient point." *Mem. de Commines, liv.* vii. *p.* 198. The day after Piero had entered into his unfortunate treaty, Lodovico Sforza arrived at the French camp, when Piero, who was not at open enmity with him, excused himself for not having met him on the road, because Lodovico had missed his way. "It is true enough," said Lodovico, "that one of us has lost his "way, but perhaps it may prove to be yourself." *Guic. lib.* i.

(*b*) Condivi relates an extraordinary story respecting Piero de' Medici, communicated to him by Michelagnolo, who had it seems formed an intimacy with one Cardiere, an improvvisatore, that frequented the house of Lorenzo, and amused his evenings with singing to the lute. Soon after the death of

distress and devastation which the inhabitants of Italy experienced for a series of years after this event, have afforded a subject upon which their historians have dwelt with melancholy accuracy. Amidst these disasters, there is perhaps no circumstance that so forcibly excites the regret of the friends of letters, as the plundering of the palace of the Medici, and the dispersion of that invaluable library, whose origin and progress have before been traced. The French troops that had entered the city of Florence without opposition, led the way to this sacrilegious deed, in the perpetration of which they were joined by the Florentines themselves, who openly carried off, or secretly purloined, whatever

Lorenzo, Cardiere informed Michelagnolo, that Lorenzo had appeared to him, habited only in a black and ragged mantle thrown over his naked limbs, and had ordered him to acquaint Piero de' Medici, that he would in a short time be banished from Florence. Cardiere, who seems judiciously to have feared the resentment of the living more than that of the dead, declined the office; but soon afterwards Lorenzo entering his chamber at midnight, awoke him, and reproaching him with his inattention, gave him a violent blow on the cheek. Having communicated this second visit to his friend, who advised him no longer to delay his errand, he set out for Careggi, where Piero then resided, but meeting him with his attendants about midway between that place and Florence, he there delivered his message, to the great amusement of Piero and his followers; one of whom, Bernardo Divizio, afterwards Cardinal da Bibbiena, sarcastically asked him, *Whether, if Lorenzo had been desirous of giving information to his son, it was likely he would have preferred such a messenger to a personal communication?* The biographer adds, with great solemnity, "La vision "del Cardiere, o delusion diabolica, o predizion divina, o forte immagina- "zione, ch' ella si fosse, si verificò."—But the awful spectre is now before me—I see the terrified musician start from his slumbers; his left hand grasps his beloved lyre, whilst, with his right thrown over his head, he attempts to shroud himself from the looks of Lorenzo, who, with a countenance more in sorrow than in anger, points out to him his destined mission. To realize this scene so as to give it interest and effect, required the glowing imagination and the animated pencil of a FUSELI.

ever they could discover that was interesting, rare, or valuable. Besides the numerous manuscripts in almost every language, the depredators seized, with contentious avidity, the many inestimable specimens of the arts with which the house of the Medici abounded, and which had long rendered it the admiration of strangers, and the chief ornament of the city. Exquisite pieces of ancient sculpture, vases, cameos, and gems of various kinds, more estimable for their workmanship than for their native value, shared in the general ruin; and all that the assiduity and the riches of Lorenzo and his ancestors had been able to accumulate in half a century, was dissipated or demolished in a day (*a*).

The

(*a*) The destruction of this invaluable collection is pathetically related by Bernardo Ruccellai. "Hic me studium charitasque litterarum antiquitatis "admonet, ut non possim non deplorare inter subitas fundatissimæ familiæ "ruinas, Mediceam bibliothecam, insignesque thesauros, quorum pars a Gal-"lis, pars a paucis e nostris, rem turpissimam honesta specie prætendentibus, "furacissime subrepta sunt. Nam cum jam pridem gens Medicea floreret "omnibus copiis, terra, marique cuncta exquirere, dum sibi Græcarum, Lati-"narumque litterarum monumenta, toreumata, gemmas, margaritas, aliaque "hujuscemodi opera, natura simul & antiquo artificio conspicua compara-"rent," &c. "Testimonio sunt litteræ gemmis ipsis incisæ Laurentii, nomen "præferentes, quas ille sibi familiæque suæ prospiciens scalpendas curavit, "futurum ad posteros regii splendoris monumentum," &c. "Hæc omnia "magno conquisita studio, summisque parta opibus, et ad multum ævi in "deliciis habita, quibus nihil nobilius, nihil Florentiæ quod magis visendum "putaretur, uno puncto temporis in prædam cessere; tanta Gallorum ava-"rita, perfidiaque nostrorum fuit." *De bello Ital. p.* 52, *&c.* This event is also commemorated by P. de Commines, who, with true Gothic simplicity, relates the number, weight, and saleable value of the articles of which the palace of the Medici was plundered. The antique vases he denominates, "beaux pots d'agate—& tant de beaux camayeux, bien taillés que mer-

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The same reverse of fortune that overwhelmed the political labours of Lorenzo, that rendered his descendants fugitives, and dispersed his effects, seemed to extend to his friends and associates, almost all of whom unhappily perished within a ſhort interval after his death, although in the common course of nature they might have expected a longer life. The first of these eminent men was Ermolao Barbaro, of whose friendly intercourse with Lorenzo many testimonies remain, and who died of the plague in the year 1493, when only thirty-nine years of age (*a*). This

Death of Ermolao Barbaro.

" veilles (qu' autrefois j'avois veus) & bien trois mille medales d' or & d' ar-
" gent, bien la pesanteur de quarante livres ; & croi qu'il n'y avoit point
" autant de belles medales en Italie. Ce qu'il perdit ce jour en la cité valoit
" cent mille ecus & plus." *Mem. de Com. liv.* vii. *c.* 9.

(*a*) The life and learned labours of Ermolao have afforded a subject of much discussion to Vossius, Bayle, and others, and have been considered with particular accuracy by Apostolo Zeno, *Dissert. Voss. v.* ii. *p.* 348. *& seq.* His first work was a treatise *De Cælibatu*, which he wrote at eighteen years of age. His *Castigationes Plinianæ* entitle him to rank with the most successful restorers of learning. Politiano denominates him, *Hermolaus Barbarus barbariæ hostis acerrimus. Miscel. cap.* xc. Being on an embassy to Rome in the year 1491, Innocent VIII. conferred on him the high dignity of Patriarch of Aquileja, which he accepted without regarding the decree of the Venetian government, which directed that none of their ministers at the court of Rome should receive any ecclesiastical preferment without the consent of the council. His father, who held the second office in the state, is said to have died of chagrin, because he could not prevail upon his countrymen to approve the preferment of his son. But Ermolao availed himself of his dismission from public business, to return with greater earnestness to his studies, and in two years wrote more than he had done for twenty years preceding. In his last sickness at Rome, Pico of Mirandula sent him a remedy for the cure of the plague, composed of the oil of scorpions, the tongues of asps, &c. " Ut nihil fieri posset contra pestilentem
" morbum commodius aut presentius." *Crin. de honest. discip. lib.* i. *c.* 7. But this grand panacea arrived too late. " Egli non è da tacersi," says Apostolo Zeno, " un gran fregio di questo valente uomo, ed è, che visse, e morì *vergine.*

CHAP. X.

Pico of Mirandula.

Agnolo Politiano.

This event was succeeded by the death of Pico of Mirandula, who in his thirty-second year fell a victim to his avidity for science, and has left posterity to regret that he turned his astonishing acquisitions to so little account. Nor did Politiano long survive his great patron. He died at Florence on the twenty-fourth day of September 1494, when he had just completed his fortieth year.

Absurd account respecting his death.

It is painful to reflect on the propensity which has appeared in all ages to sully the most ilustrious characters by the imputation of the most degrading crimes. Jovius, with apparent gravity, informs us, that Politiano, having entertained a criminal passion for one of his pupils, died in the paroxysm of an amorous fever, whilst he was singing his praises on the lute (*a*); and this preposterous tale has been repeated, with singular variations, by many subsequent writers. To attempt a serious refutation of so absurd a charge would be an useless undertaking; but it may not be uninteresting to

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Which information is confirmed by the authority of Piero Dolfini, who, in a letter to Ugolino Verini, asserts, QUOD ABSQUE ULLA CARNIS CONTAGIONE VIXERIT. *Diss. Voss.* ii. *p.* 385. A very particular account of the manners and person of Ermolao is given in a letter from Piero de' Medici to his father Lorenzo, then absent at the baths of Vignone, from which it appears, that he had paid a visit to Florence, and was received there with great honour as the friend of Lorenzo. *App. No.* LXXXI.

(*a*) Ferunt eum ingenui adolescentis insano amore percitum, facile in letalem morbum incidisse. Correpta enim citharâ, quum eo incendio, et rapida febre torreretur, supremi furoris carmina decantavit; ita, ut mox delirantem, vox ipsa et digitorum nervi, et vitalis denique spiritus, inverecunda urgente morte, desererent: quum maturando judicio integræ statæque ætatis anni, non sine gravi Musarum injuria, doloreque seculi, festinante fato eriperentur. *Jovii. Elog. cap.* XXXVIII.

to inquire by what circumstances it was first suggested; as it may serve to shew on how slight a foundation detraction can erect her superstructure. On the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Politiano attempted to pour forth his grief in the following monody to his memory, which, although left in an unfinished state, and not to be ranked in point of composition with many of his other writings, is strongly expressive of the anguish and agitation of his mind:

Monodia in Laurentium Medicem.

His monody on Lorenzo.

Quis dabit capiti meo
Aquam? quis oculis meis
Fontem lachrymarum dabit?
Ut nocte fleam,
Ut luce fleam.
Sic turtur viduus solet;
Sic cygnus moriens solet;
Sic luscinia conqueri.
Heu miser, miser;
O dolor, dolor.
—LAURUS impetu fulminis
Illa illa jacet subito;
LAURUS omnium celebris
Musarum choris,
Nympharum choris,
Sub cujus patula coma,
Et Phœbi lyra blandius
Et vox dulcius insonat.
Nunc muta omnia,
Nunc surda omnia.

—Quis dabit capiti meo
Aquam? quis oculis meis
Fontem lachrymarum dabit?
Ut nocte fleam,
Ut luce fleam.
Sic turtur viduus solet;
Sic cygnus moriens solet;
Sic luscinia conqueri.
Heu miser, miser;
O dolor, dolor.

Who from perennial streams shall bring,
Of gushing floods a ceaseless spring?
That through the day in hopeless woe,
That through the night my tears may flow.
As the reft turtle mourns his mate,
As sings the swan his coming fate,
As the sad nightingale complains,
I pour my anguish and my strains.
Ah wretched, wretched past relief,
O grief, beyond all other grief.

—Through heaven the gleamy lightning flies,
And prone on earth my LAUREL lies:
That laurel, boast of many a tongue,
Whose praises every muse has sung,
Which every dryad of the grove,
And all the tuneful sisters love.
That laurel, that erewhile displayed
Its ample honours; in whose shade
To louder notes was strung the lyre,
And sweeter sang th' Aonian quire,
Now silent, silent all around,
And deaf the ear that drank the sound.

—Who

—Who from perennial streams shall bring,
Of gushing floods a ceaseless spring?
That through the day in hopeless woe,
That through the night my tears may flow.
As the reft turtle mourns his mate,
As sings the swan his coming fate,
As the sad nightingale complains,
I pour my anguish and my strains.
Ah wretched, wretched past relief,
O grief, beyond all other grief.

Such was the object of the affections of Politiano, and such the amorous effusion, in the midst of which he was intercepted by the hand of death; yet if we advert to the charges which have been brought against him, we shall find that they are chiefly, if not wholly, to be attributed to a misrepresentation, or perversion, of these lines. Of those who, after Jovius, have repeated the accusation, one author informs us, that the verses which Politiano addressed to the object of his love were so tender and impassioned, that he expired just as he had finished the second couplet (*a*). Another relates that in the frenzy of a fever, he had eluded the vigilance of his guard, and escaping from his bed, seized his lute, and began to play upon it under the window

(*a*) *Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, lib.* iv. *p.* 196. "La passion criminelle "qu'il avoit pour un de ses ècoliers de haute qualité, ne pouvant etre assouvie, "lui donna la fièvre chaude. Dans la violence de l' accés, il fit un chanson "pour l' objet dont il étoit charmé, se leva du lit, prit un luth, & se mit à la "chanter sur un air si tendre, & si pitoyable, qu'il expira en achevant *le second couplet*; le même jour que Charles VIII. passa les Alpes pour aller à la con-"quête de Naples." This author seems equally misinformed as to the manner and the time of the death of Politiano.

window of a young Greek of whom he was enamoured, whence he was brought back by his friends, half dead, and expired in his bed soon afterwards (*a*). We are next informed, that in a fit of amorous impatience, he occasioned his own death, by striking his head against the wall (*b*): whilst a fourth author assures us, that he was killed by a fall from the stairs, as he was singing to his lute an elegy which he had composed on the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (*c*). The contrariety of these relations, not one of which is supported by the slightest pretence to serious or authentic testimony, is itself a sufficient proof of their futility. Some years after the death of Politiano, the celebrated cardinal Bembo, touched with the untimely fate of a man whom he was induced by a similarity of taste and character to love and admire, paid a tribute of gratitude and respect to his memory in a few elegiac verses, in which, alluding to the unfinished monody of Politiano, he represents him as sinking under the stroke of fate, at the moment

(*a*) "Politien, ce bel esprit, qui parloit si bien Latin, s'appelloit Ange; " mais il s'en falloit beaucoup qu'il en eut la pureté. La passion honteuse " & l'abominable amour dont il bruloit pour un jeune garçon, qui etoit Grec " de naissance, a fletri à perpetuité sa memorie, & causa sa mort. Car etant " tombè dans un fievre chaude, il se leva brusquement de son lit, la nuit, que " sa garde etoit endormie, prit la luth à la main, & en alla jouer sous la fe- " nètre du petit Grec. On l'en retira à demi mort, & on le remporta dans " son lit, ou il expira bientôt aprés," &c. *Ab. Faydit, Remarques sur Virgile & sur Homere, &c. Menck. in vitâ Pol. p.* 472.

(*b*) "Vulgo fertur," says Vossius, *De Hist. Lat. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. " obiisse Po- " litianum fœdi amoris impatientia capite in parietem illiso." *Ap. Menck.* 470.

(*c*) *Bullart Acad. des Hommes illustres, tom.* i. *p.* 278. "Politien——tomba " d'un escalier comme il chantoit sur son luth une elegie, qu'il avoit composée " sur la mort de Laurent. de' Medicis."

moment when, frantic with excess of grief, he was attempting, by the power of music, to revoke the fatal decree which had deprived him of his friend.

Politiani Tumulus.

Politiano celebrated by Cardinal Bembo.

Duceret extincto cum mors LAURENTE triumphum,
  Lætaque pullatis inveheretur equis,
Respicit insano ferientem pollice chordas,
  Viscera singultu concutiente, virum.
Mirata est, tenuitque jugum: furit ipse, pioque
  LAURENTEM cunctos flagitat ore Deos.
Miscebat precibus lachrymas, lachrymisque dolorem;
  Verba ministrabat liberiora dolor.
Risit, et antiquæ non immemor illa querelæ,
  Orphei Tartariæ cum patuere viæ,
Hic etiam infernas tentat rescindere leges,
  Fertque suas, dixit, in mea jura manus.
Protinus et flentem percussit dura poetam;
  Rupit et in medio pectora docta sono.
—Heu sic tu raptus, sic te mala fata tulerunt,
  Arbiter Ausoniæ, POLITIANE, lyræ.

Whilst borne in sable state, LORENZO's bier
  The tyrant death, his proudest triumph, brings,
He mark'd a bard in agony severe,
  Smite with delirious hand the sounding strings.
He stop'd—he gaz'd—the storm of passion raged,
  And prayers with tears were mingled, tears with grief;
For lost LORENZO, war with fate he waged,
  And every god was call'd to bring relief.

The tyrant smil'd—and mindful of the hour
When from the shades his consort Orpheus led,
" Rebellious too wouldst thou usurp my power,
" And burst the chain that binds the captive dead?"
He spoke—and speaking launch'd the shaft of fate,
And clos'd the lips that glow'd with sacred fire.
His timeless doom 'twas thus POLITIAN met—
POLITIAN, master of th' Ausonian lyre.

The fiction of the poet, that Politiano had incurred the resentment of death by his affection for the object of his passion, suggests nothing more than that his death was occasioned by sorrow for the loss of his friend; but the verses of Bembo seem to have given a further pretext to the enemies of Politiano, who appear to have mistaken the friend whom he has celebrated, for the object of an amorous passion, and to have interpreted these lines, so honourable to Politiano, in a manner, not only the most unfavourable to his character, but the most opposite to their real purport, and to the occasion which gave them birth (*a*).

From

(*a*) " Nous scavons maintenant la veritable mort de Politien, que le Car-
" dinal Bembe a deguisée dans l'epitaphe qu'il lui a dressée. Comme il chan-
" toit sur le luth au dessus d'un escalier une chanson qu'il avoit faite autrefois
" pour une fille qu'il aimoit, lorsqu'il vint à certains vers fort patetiques, son
" luth lui tomba des mains, & lui tomba aussi de l' escalier en bas, et se rompit
" le col." *Pier. de S. Romuald, Abregé du Tresor Chronol. tom.* iii. *p.* 262. *ap. Menck.* *p.* 476. These imputations on the moral character of Politiano have also been frequently adverted to by other authors: thus J. C. Scaliger,

" Obscæno moreris sed Politiane, furore."

And in yet grosser terms by Andrea Dati:

" Et ne te teneam diutius, quot
" Pædicat pueros Politianus."

v. Menagiana, v. iv. *p.* 122.

Authentic account of his death.

From much more authentic documents which yet remain respecting the death of this eminent scholar, there is reason to conclude, that it was occasioned by his grief for the loss of his great patron, and by the subsequent misfortunes of a family with which he was connected by so many endearing ties. That he had incurred the public odium in a high degree, on account of his attachment to that family, is also certain; and the mortification and anxiety which he on this account experienced, might contribute to accelerate the fatal event. It may also be observed, that his property was plundered during the commotions at Florence, and many of his works destroyed or lost in the general devastation of the Laurentian Library; which incident made a deep impression on his mind (*a*). In short, such was the sudden tide of misfortune that burst in upon him from all quarters, that it is probable his fortitude was unable to support the shock; and, notwithstanding his industry, his accomplishments, and his unwearied exertions in promoting the progress of learning, to such an extreme of misery was he reduced, that he is too justly enumerated by Valerianus amongst the unhappy children of science, who have afforded examples for his singular work, *De infelicitate Literatorum*. But whatever was the immediate occasion of his death, indisputable evidence remains, that his misfortunes were not so much to be attributed to his misconduct or his immorality, as to his steady adherence to the family of the Medici, at a time when the

(*a*) This is sufficiently apparent from the beautiful lines addressed to him by Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, published in the collection of the poems of the two Strozzi, father and son, by Aldo, 1513. *v. Appendix, No.* LXXXII.

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the public resentment against them was excited to the highest pitch, and that he breathed his last in the midst of his relatives and friends, having first expressed his desire to be buried in the church of S. Marco, in the habit of the Domenican order. This request was complied with by the piety of his pupil Roberto Ubaldini, one of the monks of the convent of S. Marco, who has left a memorial in his own hand-writing of the circumstances attending his death (*a*). His remains were accordingly deposited in the church of S. Marco, where his memory is preserved in an epitaph very unworthy of his character and genius (*b*).

The various and discordant relations respecting the death of Politiano are happily adverted to by one of his countrymen in the following lines;

Pamphili Saxi,

De morte Angeli Politiani.

Quo cecidit fato nostri decus ANGELUS ævi,
Gentis et Etruscæ gloria, scire cupis?

Icterici

(*a*) The indefatigable Abate Mehus, in his life of Ambrogio Traversari, first produced these documents, which the reader will find in the Appendix, *No.* LXXXIII.

(*b*)

POLITIANUS.
IN. HOC. TUMULO. JACET.
ANGELUS. UNUM.
QUI. CAPUT. ET. LINGUAS.
RES. NOVA. TRES. HABUIT.
OBIIT. AN. MCCCCLXXXXIV.
SEP. XXIV. ÆTATIS.
XL.

Icterici non hunc labes tristissima morbi,
  Febris ad Elysias vel tulit atra domos;
Non inflans humor pectus, non horrida bilis;
  Mortiferæ pestis denique nulla lues:
Sed, quoniam rigidas ducebat montibus ornos,
  Frangebat scopulos, decipiebat aves,
Mulcebat tigres, sistebat flumina cantu,
  Plectra movens plectro dulcius Ismario.
Non plus Threicium laudabunt Orphea gentes,
  Calliope dixit dixit: Apollo, Linum;
Jamque tacet nostrum rupes Heliconia nomen—
  Et simul hunc gladio supposuere necis.
Mors tamen hæc illi vita est, nam gloria magna
  Invidiâ Phœbi Calliopesque mori.

Ask'st thou what cause consign'd to early fate
POLITIAN, glory of the Tuscan state?
—Not loathsome jaundice tainting all the frame,
Not rapid fever's keen consuming flame,
Not viscous rheum that choaks the struggling breath,
Nor any vulgar minister of death;
—'Twas that his song to life and motion charm'd
The mountain oaks, the rock's cold bosom warm'd,
Stay'd the prone flood, the tyger's rage control'd,
With sweeter strains than Orpheus knew of old.—
" Dimmed is the lustre of my Grecian fame,"
Exclaim'd Calliope—" No more my name
" Meets even in Helicon its due regard,"
Apollo cry'd, and pierc'd the tuneful bard—
—Yet lives the bard in lasting fame approv'd,
Who Phœbus and the muse to envy mov'd.

CHAP. X.

Disturbances excited by Girolamo Savonarola.

The expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence, neither contributed to establish the tranquillity, nor to preserve the liberty of the republic. The inhabitants exulted for a time in the notion that they were freed from the tyranny of a family which had held them so long in subjection; but they soon discovered that it was necessary to supply its absence, by increasing the executive power of the state. Twenty citizens were accordingly chosen by the appellation of *Accoppiatori*, who were invested, not only with the power of raising money, but also of electing the chief magistrates. This form of government met however with an early and formidable opposition; and to the violence of political dissensions, was soon superadded the madness of religious enthusiasm. The fanatic, Savonarola, having, by pretensions to immediate inspiration from God, and by harangues well calculated to impress the minds of the credulous, formed a powerful party, began to aim at political importance. Adopting the popular side of the question, he directed the whole torrent of his eloquence against the new mode of government; affirming, that he was divinely authorized to declare, that the legislative power ought to be extended to the citizens at large, that he had himself been the ambassador of the Florentines to heaven, and that Christ had condescended to be their peculiar monarch (*a*). The exertions of Savonarola were successful. The newly elected magistrates voluntarily abdicated their offices; and an effort was made to establish the government on a more popular basis, by vesting

(*a*) *Nerli, Commentarj de' Fatti civili de Firenze, lib.* iv. *p.* 65. *Aug.* 1728.

vesting the legislative power of the state in the *Consiglio Maggiore*, or Council of the Citizens, and in a select body, called the *Consiglio degli Scelti*, or Select Council (*a*). The first of these was to be composed of at least one thousand citizens, who could derive their citizenship by descent, and were upwards of thirty years of age; the latter consisted of eighty members, who were elected half-yearly from the great council, and were upwards of forty years of age (*b*). These regulations, instead of uniting the citizens in one common interest, gave rise to new distinctions. The *Frateschi*, or adherents of Savonarola, who were in general favourable to the liberty of the lower classes of the inhabitants, regarded the friar as the messenger of heaven, as the guide of their temporal and eternal happiness; whilst the *Compagnacci*, or adherents to a more aristocratical government, represented him as a factious impostor; and Alexander VI. seconded their cause by fulminating against him the anathemas of the church. Thus impelled by the most powerful motives that can actuate the human mind, the citizens of Florence were seized with a temporary insanity. In the midst of their devotions, they frequently rushed in crowds from the church, to assemble in the public squares, crying *Viva Cristo*, singing hymns, and dancing in circles formed by a citizen and a friar, placed alternately (*c*). The hymns sung on these

(*a*) To this government Machiavelli alludes in his second Decennale:

" E dopo qualche disparer trovaste,
" Nuov' ordine al governo, e furon tante,
" Che il vostro stato popolar fondaste."

(*b*) *Nerli, Comment. lib.* iv. *p.* 66, 67.

(*c*) *Ibid. lib.* iv. *p.* 75.

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these occasions were chiefly composed by Girolamo Benivieni, who appears to have held a distinguished rank amongst these disciples of fanaticism (*a*). The enemies of Savonarola were as immoderate in their opposition as his partizans were in their attachment. Even the children of the city were trained in opposite factions, and saluted each other with showers of pebbles; in which contests the gravest citizens were sometimes unable to resist the inclination of taking a part (*b*).

Adherents of the Medici decapitated.

Such was the state of Florence in the year 1497, when Piero de' Medici, who had long waited for an opportunity of

(*a*) Some of these compositions are preserved in the general collection of his poems. The following lines, which seem peculiarly adapted for such an occasion, may serve as a specimen:

" Non fu mai'l più bel solazzo,
" Più giocondo nè maggiore,
" Che per zelo, e per amore
" Di Jesu, diventar pazzo.
" Ognun gridi com' io grido,
" Sempre pazzo, pazzo, pazzo."

Op. di Benivi. p. 143.

(*b*) Era talvolta, predicando il frate, in sul bello della predica suonato tamburi, e fatti altri rumori per impedirlo; e molte volte gli fu nel venir da S. Marco a S. Liparata giù per la via del Cocomero, da' fanciulli de' suoi avversarj fatto baie fanciullesche, e da' fanciulli della sua parte era voluto defendere, dimanierachè, secondo il costume de' fanciulli Fiorentini, facevano a' sassi, e così combattendo facevano infanciullire degli uomini gravi; perchè occorse a M. Luca Corsini, benchè Dottore assai riputato, per favorire la parte del Frate mescolarsi co' fanciulli a fare a' sassi; e Giovanbattista Ridolfi, uno de' più riputati e savj cittadini che fussero a tempj suoi, posta da canto la gravità, e quel grado che a un tale, e sì onorato Cittadino si conveniva, prese un giorno l'armi, e in su certa occasione, per essere impedita al frate la predica intorno a S. Liparato, uscì della case de' Lorini vicine a quel tempio, quasi infuriato, senza seguito alcuno, con una roncola in ispalla, gridando, *Viva Cristo*; com' anche gridavano i fanciulli del Frate; e di queste così fatte cose ne seguivano spesso. *Nerli, Comment. lib.* iv. *p.* 74.

of regaining his authority, entered into a negotiation with several of his adherents, who undertook, at an appointed hour, to admit him within the walls of the city, with the troops which he had obtained from the Venetian republic, and from his relations of the Orsini family. Piero did not however make his appearance till the opportunity of assisting him was past. His abettors were discovered; five of them, of the chief families of Florence, were decapitated; the rest were imprisoned or sent into banishment. The persons accused would have appealed from their judges to the *Consiglio Grande*, according to a law which had lately been obtained by the influence of the *Frateschi*; but that party, with Savonarola at their head, were clamorous for the execution of the delinquents, and in spite of the law which they had themselves introduced, effected their purpose. Amongst the five sufferers was Lorenzo Tornabuoni, the maternal cousin of Lorenzo de' Medici, of whose accomplishments Politiano has left a very favourable account, and to whom he has inscribed his beautiful poem intitled *Ambra* (*a*).

Disgrace and execution of Savonarola.

The authority of Savonarola was now at its highest pitch. Instead of a republic, Florence assumed the appearance of a theocracy, of which Savonarola was the prophet, the legislator, and the judge (*b*). He perceived not however

(*a*) *v. ante, p.* 137.

(*b*) This fanatical party proceeded so far as even to strike a coin on the occasion, a specimen of which in silver is preserved in the collection of the Earl of Orford, to whose kind communications, since the first edition of this work, I have been greatly indebted. On one side is the Florentine device, or *fleur de lys*, with the motto, SENATUS POPULUSQUE FLORENTINUS; on the other, a cross, with the motto, JESUS CHRISTUS REX NOSTER.

however that he had arrived at the edge of the precipice, and that by one step further he might incur his destruction. Amongst the methods resorted to by the opponents of Savonarola to weaken his authority, and to counteract his pretensions, they had attacked him with his own weapons, and had excited two Franciscan monks to declaim against him from the pulpit. Savonarola found it necessary to call in the aid of an assistant, for which purpose he selected Fra Domenico da Pescia, a friar of his own convent of S. Marco. The contest was kept up by each of the contending parties with equal fury, till Domenico, transported with zeal for the interests of his master, proposed to confirm the truth of his doctrines by walking through the flames, provided any one of his adversaries would submit to a similar test. By a singular coincidence, which is alone sufficient to demonstrate to what a degree the passions of the people were excited, a Franciscan friar accepted the challenge, and professed himself ready to proceed to the proof. The mode of trial became the subject of serious deliberation among the chief officers of the republic. Two deputies were elected on behalf of each of the parties, to arrange and superintend this extraordinary contest. The combustibles were prepared, and over them was erected a scaffold, which afforded a commodious passage into the midst of the flames. On the morning of the day appointed, being the seventeenth of April 1498, Savonarola and his champion made their appearance, with a numerous procession of ecclesiastics, Savonarola himself intonating with a tremendous voice, the psalm, *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus*. His opponent, Fra Giuliano Rondinelli, attended by a few Franciscan monks, came sedately

and

and silently to the place of trial; the flames were kindled, and the agitated spectators waited with impatience for the moment that should renew the miracle of the Chaldean furnace. Savonarola finding that the Franciscan was not to be deterred from the enterprize either by his vociferations, or by the sight of the flames, was obliged to have recourse to another expedient, and insisted that his champion Domenico, when he entered the fire, should bear the host along with him. This sacrilegious proposal shocked the whole assembly. The prelates who, together with the state deputies, attended the trial, exclaimed against an experiment which might subject the catholic faith to too severe a test, and bring a scandal upon their holy religion. Domenico however clung fast to the twig which his patron had thrown out, and positively refused to encounter the flames without this sacred talisman. This expedient, whilst it saved the life of the friar, ruined the credit of Savonarola. On his return to the convent of S. Marco, he was insulted by the populace, who bitterly reproached him, that after having encouraged them to cry *Viva Cristo*, he should impiously propose to commit him to the flames. Savonarola attempted to regain his authority by addressing them from the pulpit, but his enemies were too vigilant; seizing the opportunity of his disgrace, they first attacked the house of Francesco Valori, one of his most powerful partizans, who, together with his wife, was sacrificed to their fury. They then secured Savonarola, with his associate Domenico, and another friar of the same convent, and dragged them to prison. An assembly of ecclesiastics and seculars, directed by an emissary of Alexander VI. sat in judgment upon them. The resolution

resolution and eloquence of Savonarola, on his first interview, intimidated his judges, and it was not till recourse was had to the implements of torture—the *ultima theologorum ratio*, that Savonarola betrayed his weakness, and acknowledged the fallacy of his pretensions to supernatural powers. His condemnation instantly followed, and the unhappy priest, with his two attendants, were led to execution in the same place, and with the same apparatus, as had been prepared for the contest; where, being first strangled, their bodies were committed to the flames, and lest the city should be polluted by their remains, their ashes were carefully gathered and thrown into the Arno (*a*).

Death of Piero de' Medici.

From the time that Piero de' Medici quitted the city of Florence, he experienced a continual succession of mortifications and disappointments. Flattered, deserted, encouraged, and betrayed, by the different potentates to whom he successively applied for assistance, his prospects became daily more unfavourable, and his return to Florence more improbable. In the mean time a new war had arisen in Italy. Louis XII. the successor of Charles VIII. after having, in conjunction with Ferdinand, king of Spain, accomplished the conquest of Naples, disagreed with him in the partition of the spoil, and Italy became the theatre of their struggle. On this occasion Piero entered into the service of the French, and was present at an engagement that took place between them and the Spaniards, on the banks of the Garigliano, in which they were defeated with great loss. In effecting his escape, Piero attempted to pass the river, but the boat in which he

(*a*) *Nerli, Comment. lib.* iv. *p.* 78. *Savonarolæ vita, tom.* ii. *seu additiones, Par.* 1674, *passim.*

he with several other men of rank had embarked, being laden with heavy cannon, sunk in the midst of the current, and Piero miserably perished, after having supported an exile of ten years. By his wife Alfonsina, he left a son named Lorenzo, and a daughter Clarice.

His character.

Few men have derived from nature greater advantages, and perhaps never any one enjoyed a better opportunity of improving them, than Piero de' Medici. A robust form, a vigorous constitution, great personal strength and activity, and a share of talents beyond the common lot, were the endowments of his birth. To these was added a happy combination of external affairs, resulting from the opulence and respectability of his family, the powerful alliances by which it was strengthened, and the high reputation which his father had so deservedly acquired. But these circumstances, apparently so favourable to his success, were precisely the causes of his early ruin. Presuming on his security, he supposed that his authority could not be shaken, nor his purposes defeated. Forgetting the advice so often repeated to him by his father, *to remember that he was only a citizen of Florence*, he neglected or disdained to conciliate the affections of the people. His conduct was the exact reverse of that which his ancestors had so long and uniformly adopted, and was attended with the effects which might reasonably be expected from a dereliction of those maxims that had raised them to the honourable distinction which they had so long enjoyed.

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A few poetical compositions of Piero de' Medici, preserved in the Laurentian Library, though not hitherto printed, place his character in a more favourable point of view, and exhibit his filial affection and his attachment to his native place in a very interesting light (*a*). Of this the following sonnet may be a sufficient proof:

SONETTO.

Sonnet of Piero de' Medici.

'Sendo io national, e di te nato,
Muovati patria un poco il tuo figliuolo;
Fingiti almen pietosa del suo duolo,
Essendo in te nudrito ed allevato.
Ha ciaschedun del nascimento il fato,
Come l'uccello il suo garrire e volo;
Scusemi almen in ciò non esser solo,
Benchè solo al mio male io pur sia stato.
Et se può nulla in te mio antico affetto,
Per quella pietà ch 'n te pur regna
Non mi sia questo dono da te disdetto:
—Ch' almen in cener nella patria io vegna,
A riposar col padre mio diletto,
Che già ti fe si gloriosa e degna.

SON-

(*a*) They consist of twenty one sonnets, which are found at the close of a manuscript volume of the poems of his father Lorenzo, *Plut.* xli. *Cod.* xxxviii. *No.* 3. Besides which Valerianus informs us, that he translated from Plutarch, a treatise on conjugal love; *Valer. de Lit. infel. lib.* ii.; but this performance has probably perished, there being no copy of it now to be found in the Laurentian Library.

SONNET.

Thy offspring, FLORENCE, nurtur'd at thy breast,
Ah let me yet thy kind indulgence prove;
Or if thou own no more a parent's love,
Thy pity sure may sooth my woes to rest.
Fate marks to each his lot: the same behest
That taught the bird through fields of air to rove,
And tunes his song, my vital tissue wove
Of grief and care, with darkest hues imprest.
But if, my fondness scorn'd, my prayer denied,
Death only bring the period of my woes,
Yet one dear hope shall mitigate my doom.
—If then my father's name was once thy pride,
Let my cold ashes find at last repose,
Safe in the shelter of his honoured tomb.

Giovanni de' Medici.

Of the many ties by which Lorenzo had endeavoured to secure the prosperity of his family amidst the storms of fortune, and the ebbs and flows of popular opinion, one only now remained—that by which he had connected it with the church; but this alone proved sufficient for the purpose, and shews that in this, as in every other instance, his conduct was directed by motives of the soundest policy. After the expulsion of the family from Florence, the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, finding that the endeavours of himself and his brothers to effect their restoration were more likely to exasperate the Florentines than to promote that desirable event, desisted from any further attempts, and determined to wait with patience for a more favourable opportunity. He therefore quitted Italy, and, whilst that country was the theatre of treachery and war, visited many parts of France and Germany.

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His dislike to Alexander VI. who had entered into an alliance with the Florentines, and was consequently adverse to the views of the exiles, was an additional motive for his absence. After the death of Alexander in the year 1503, he returned to Rome, and found in Julius II. a pontiff more just to his talents, and more favourable to his hopes. From this time he began to take an important part in the public affairs of Italy, and was appointed legate in the war carried on by the pope, the Venetians, and the king of Spain, against Louis XII. Whilst invested with this dignity, he was taken prisoner by the French, in the famous battle of Ravenna, but soon afterwards found an opportunity of effecting his escape, not however without great danger and difficulty. In the mean time new dissensions had sprung up at Florence, where the inhabitants, wearied with the fluctuations of a government, whose maxims and conduct were changed in the same rapid succession as its chief magistrates, were at length obliged to seek for a greater degree of stability, by electing a *Gonfaloniere* for life. This authority was intrusted to Piero Soderini, who, with more integrity than ability, exercised it for nearly ten years. His contracted views suited not with the circumstances of the times. The principal governments of Italy, with Julius at their head, had leagued together to free that country from the depredations of the French. Fearful of exciting the restless dispositions of the Florentines, and perhaps of endangering the continuance of his power, the *Gonfaloniere* kept aloof from a cause, on the success of which depended the tranquillity and independence of Italy. His reluctance to take an active part in the war was construed

strued into a secret partiality to the interests of the French; and, whilst it rendered him odious to a great part of the citizens of Florence, drew upon him the resentment of the allied powers. The victory obtained by the French at Ravenna, dearly purchased with the death of the gallant Gaston de Foix, and the loss of near ten thousand men, proved the destruction of their enterprize; and as the cause of the French declined, that of the Medici gained ground, as well in Florence, as in the rest of Italy. The prudence and moderation of the cardinal enabled him to avail himself of these favourable dispositions without prematurely anticipating the consequences. During his residence at Rome he had paid a marked attention to the citizens of Florence who occasionally resorted there, without making any apparent distinction between those who had espoused and those who had been adverse to the cause of his family; and by his affability and hospitality, as well as by his attention to the interests of those who stood in need of his services, had acquired the good opinion of his fellow-citizens. Having thus prepared the way for his success, he took the earliest opportunity of turning the arms of the allied powers against Florence, for the avowed purpose of removing Piero Soderini from his office, and restoring the Medici to their rights as citizens. On the part of Soderini little resistance was made. The allies having succeeded in an attack upon the town of Prato, and the friends of the Medici having openly opposed the authority of Soderini, the tide of popular favour once more turned; and whilst the *Gonfaloniere* with difficulty effected his escape, the cardinal made his entrance into his native place, accompanied by his younger brother Giuliano, his nephew Lorenzo,

Restoration of the Medici to Florence.

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renzo, and his cousin Giulio de' Medici, the latter of whom had been his constant attendant during all the events of his public life (*a*).

Elevation of Leo X.

The restoration of the Medici, although effected by an armed force, was not disgraced by the bloodshed of any of the citizens, and a few only of their avowed enemies were ordered to absent themselves from Florence. Scarcely was the tranquillity of the place restored when intelligence was received of the death of Julius II. The cardinal lost no time in repairing to Rome, where, on the eleventh day of March 1513, being then only thirty-seven years of age, he was elected supreme head of the church, and assumed the name of Leo X. The high reputation which he had acquired not only counterbalanced any objections arising from his youth, but rendered his election a subject of general satisfaction; and the inhabitants of Florence, without adverting to the consequences, exulted in an event which seemed likely to contribute not less to the security than to the honour of their country. The commencement of his pontificate was distinguished by an act of clemency which seemed to realize the high expectations that had been formed of it. A general amnesty was published at Florence, and the banished citizens restored to their country. Piero Soderini, who had taken refuge in Turkey, was invited by the pope to Rome, where he resided many years under his protection, and enjoyed the society and respect of the prelates and other men of eminence who frequented the court, being distinguished

(*a*) *Guicciar. Storia d' Italia, lib.* x. *Razzi vita di Piero Soderini. Padova,* 1737, *p.* 70, *&c.*

guished during the remainder of his life by the honourable title of the *Gonfaloniere* (*a*).

Leo promotes his relations.

The elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate established the fortunes of the Medici on a permanent foundation. Naturally munificent to all, Leo was lavish in bestowing upon the different branches of his own family the highest honours and most lucrative preferments of the church. Giulio de' Medici was created archbishop of Florence, and was soon afterwards admitted into the sacred college, where he acquired such influence, as to secure the pontifical chair, in which he succeeded Adrian VI. who filled it only ten months after the death of Leo. The daughters of Lorenzo, Maddalena, the wife of Francesco Cibo, Contessina, the wife of Piero Ridolfi, and Lucrezia, the wife of Giacopo Salviati, gave no less than four cardinals to the Romish church; there being two of the family of Salviati, and one of each of the others. Profiting by the examples of his predecessors, Leo lost no opportunity of aggrandizing his relations, well knowing that, in order to secure to them any lasting benefit, it was necessary that they should be powerful enough to defend themselves, after his death, from the rapacious aims of succeeding pontiffs, who, he was well aware, would probably pay as little regard to his family, as he had himself, in some instances, paid to the friends and families of his predecessors (*b*).

The

(*a*) *Razzi vita di Piero Soderini, p.* 85.

(*b*) Notwithstanding his precautions, Leo could not, on all occasions, preserve his surviving relations from the insults and injuries of his successors. Paul III. Alessandro Farnese, had in his youth been particularly favoured by Lorenzo de' Medici, who, in a letter which yet remains from him to Lanfre-

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Restores his dominions to peace.

The pontificate of Leo X. is celebrated as one of the most prosperous in the annals of the Romish church. At the time when he assumed the chair, the calamities of Italy were at their highest pitch; that country being the theatre of a war, in which not only all its governments were engaged, but which was rendered yet more sanguinary by the introduction of the French, Helvetian, and Spanish troops. A council, which had long established itself at Pisa, under the influence and protection of the king of France, thwarted the measures, and at times overawed the authority of the holy see; and, in addition to all her other distresses, Italy laboured under great apprehensions from the Turks, who constantly threatened a descent on that unhappy country. The address and perseverance of Leo surmounted the difficulties which he had to encounter; and during his pontificate the papal dominions enjoyed a degree of tranquillity superior to any other state in Italy. In his relations with foreign powers, his conduct is no less entitled to approbation. During the contests that took place between those powerful monarchs Charles V. and Francis I. he distinguished himself by his moderation, his vigilance, and his political address; on which account he is justly celebrated by an eminent historian

dini, his envoy at Rome, thus expresses himself respecting him: "Vi lo rac- "commandiate quanto farei Pietro mio figlio; e vi prego lo introduciate e lo "raccommandiate caldissimamente a N. S. (il papa) che non potreste farmi "maggior piacere," &c. Yet, when the same Alessandro had arrived at the pontificate, he so far forgot or disregarded his early obligations, as forcibly to dispossess Lucrezia, the daughter of his benefactor, then in a very advanced age, of her residence in Rome, to make way for one of his nephews. This incident is related by Varchi with proper indignation.

Storia Fiorentina, lib. xvi. *p.* 656.

torian of our own country, as "the only prince of the "age who observed the motions of the two contending "monarchs with a prudent attention, or who discovered "a proper solicitude for the public safety (*a*)."

Rise of the reformation.

Leo was not however aware, that whilst he was composing the troubles which the ambition of his neighbours, or the misconduct of his predecessors, had occasioned, he was exciting a still more formidable adversary, that was destined, by a slow but certain progress, to sap the foundations of the papal power, and to alienate that spiritual allegiance which the Christian world had kept inviolate for so many centuries. Under the control of Leo, the riches that flowed from every part of Europe to Rome, as to the heart of the ecclesiastical system, were again poured out through a thousand channels, till the sources became inadequate to the expenditure. To supply this deficiency, he availed himself of various expedients, which, whilst they effected for a time the intended purpose, roused the attention of the people to the enormities and abuses of the church, and in some measure drew aside that sacred veil, which, in shrouding her from the prying eyes of the vulgar, has always been her safest preservative. The open sale of dispensations and indulgences for the most enormous and disgraceful crimes was too flagrant not to attract general notice. Encouraged by the dissatisfaction which was thus excited, a daring reformer arose, and, equally regardless of the threats of secular power, and the

(*a*) *Robertson, Hist. of Cha.* V. *book* i.

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the denunciations of the Roman see, ventured to oppose the opinion of an individual to the infallible determinations of the church. At this critical juncture, Luther found that support which he might in vain have sought at any other period, and an inroad was made into the sanctuary, which has ever since been widening, and will probably continue to widen, till the mighty fabric, the work of so many ages, shall be laid in ruins (*a*). It is not however so much for the tenets of their religious creed, as for the principles upon which they founded their dissent, that the reformers are entitled to the thanks of posterity. That right of private judgment which they claimed for themselves, they could not refuse to others; and by a mode of reasoning as simple as it was decisive, mankind arrived at the knowledge of one of those great truths which form the basis of human happiness. It appeared that the denunciations of the church were as ineffectual to condemn, as its absolution was to exculpate; and, instead of an intercourse between the man and his priest, an intercourse took place between his conscience and his God.

Age of Leo X.

But turning from the advantages which the world has derived from the errors of Leo X. we may be allowed for a mo-

(*a*) The causes and progress of the reformation are traced by Dr. Robertson, in his History of Charles the V. book ii. in a manner that would dispense with any further elucidation, even if it were more intimately connected with my subject. This celebrated historian has taken occasion to refute an assertion made by Guicciardini, and, after him, by Fr. Paolo, that Leo X. bestowed the profits arising from the sale of indulgences in Saxony, upon his sister Maddalena, the wife of Francesco Cibo. *Guicciar. lib.* xiii. *Sarpi, Storia del Concil. Trident. cap.* i. *Robertson, Hist. Chas.* V. *book* ii. *in note.*

a moment to inquire what it owes to his talents and to his virtues. No sooner was he raised to the papal chair, than Rome assumed once more its ancient character, and became the seat of genius, magnificence, letters, and arts. One of the first acts of his pontificate was to invite to his court two of the most elegant Latin scholars that modern times have produced, Piero Bembo and Giacopo Sadoleti; on each of whom he conferred the rank of cardinal. The most celebrated professors of literature from every part of Europe were induced by liberal pensions to fix their residence at Rome, where a permanent establishment was formed for the study of the Greek tongue, under the direction of Giovanni Lascar. The affability, the munificence, the judgment, and the taste of this splendid pontiff, are celebrated by a considerable number of learned men, who witnessed his accomplishments, or partook of his bounty. Succeeding times have been equally disposed to do justice to so eminent a patron of letters, and have considered the age of Leo X. as rivalling that of Augustus. Leo has not however escaped the reproach of having been too lavish of his favours to authors of inferior talents, and of having expended in pompous spectacles and theatrical representations that wealth which ought to have been devoted to better purposes (*a*). But shall we condemn his conduct, if those, who had no claims on his justice, were the objects of his bounty? or may it not be doubted whether this disposition was not more favourable to the promotion of letters, than

(*a*) *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* viii. *par.* i. *p.* 19. *Andres orig. e progressi d'ogni Letteratura, v.* i. *p.* 380.

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than a course of conduct more discriminating and severe? Whatever kindness he might shew to those who endeavoured to amuse his leisure by their levity, their singularity, or their buffoonery, no instances can be produced of his having rewarded them by such distinguished favours as he constantly bestowed on real merit; and whilst we discover amongst those who shared his friendship and partook of his highest bounty, the names of Bembo, Vida, Ariosto, Sadoleti, Casa, and Flaminio, we may readily excuse the effects of that superabundant kindness which rather marked the excess of his liberality than the imperfection of his judgment.

The Laurentian Library restored.

In the attention paid by Leo X. to the collecting and preserving ancient manuscripts, and other memorials of literature, he emulated the example of his father, and by his perseverance and liberality at length succeeded in restoring to its former splendor the celebrated library, which, on the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, had become a prey to the fury or the cupidity of the populace. Such of these valuable articles as had escaped the sacrilegious hands of the plunderers, had been seized upon for the use of the Florentine state; but in the year 1496, the public treasury being exhausted, and the city reduced to great extremity, the magistrates were under the necessity of selling them to the monks of the fraternity of S. Marco, for the sum of three thousand ducats (*a*). Whilst these valuable works were

(*a*) Eodem anno libri heredum olim Petri Medicis a conventu nostro trium milium Ducatorum pretio comparati, quos supra memoravimus in horrendo casu nostro, ex jusso dominationis Florentinæ in palatium comportatos, et

were deposited at the convent, they experienced a less public, but perhaps a more destructive calamity, many of them having been distributed as presents by Savonarola, the principal of the monastery, to the cardinals, and other eminent men, by whose favour he sought to shelter himself from the resentment of the pope (*a*). When the Florentines destroyed their golden calf, and the wretched priest expiated by his death his folly and his crimes, apprehensions were entertained that the library of the Medici would once more be exposed to the rapacity of the people; but some of the youth of the noblest families of Florence, with a laudable zeal for the preservation of this monument of their national glory, associated themselves together, and undertook to guard it till the frenzy of the populace had again subsided (*b*). After the death of Savonarola, the fraternity having fallen into discredit, and being in their turn obliged to sell the library, it was purchased from them by Leo X. then cardinal de' Medici, and in the year 1508 was removed by him to Rome, where it continued during his life, and received constant additions of the most rare and valuable manuscripts. From Leo it devolved to his cousin Clement VII. who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, again

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per inventarium resignatos, mense Octobri, in conventum hunc S. Marci revecti sunt, novis stipulationibus factis, &c.

Maricani annal. part. i. *ap. Mebus. Ambr. Traver. vita, p.* 72, *in præf.*

(*a*) Etiam de' libri di Piero de' Medici, i quali nella Libreria di S. Marco in buona parte si ridussono, fece parte a cardinali, per cui mezzo delle scomuniche e altri processi contragli si difendeva. Tanta forza avevano in Firenze le sue arti. *MS. di Piero Parenti, cit. da Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* vi. *part.* i. *p.* 106.

(*b*) *Tirab. ut sup.*

again transferred it to Florence, and by a bull, which bears date the fifteenth day of December 1532, provided for its future security. Not satisfied however with this precaution, he meditated a more substantial defence, and, with a munificence which confers honour on his pontificate, engaged Michelagnolo to form the design of the splendid edifice in which this library is now deposited, which was afterwards finished under the directions of the same artist, by his friend and scholar Vasari.

Giuliano de' Medici, duke of Nemours.

Giuliano de' Medici, the third son of Lorenzo, was more distinguished by his attention to the cause of literature, and by his mild and affable disposition, than by his talents for political affairs. On the return of the family to Florence, he had been intrusted by his brother, then the cardinal de' Medici, with the direction of the Florentine state; but it soon appeared that he had not sufficient energy to control the jarring dispositions of the Florentines. He therefore resigned his authority to Lorenzo, the son of his brother Piero de' Medici, and on the elevation of Leo X. took up his residence at Rome; where, under the title of captain general of the church, he held the chief command of the papal troops. By the favour of the pope he soon afterwards obtained extensive possessions in Lombardy, and having intermarried with Filiberta, sister of Charles duke of Savoy, and a descendant of the house of Bourbon, was honoured by Francis I. with the title of duke of Nemours. Of his gratitude, an instance is recorded which it would be unjust to his memory to omit. During his exile from Florence, he had found an hospitable asylum with Guid'ubaldo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, who on

his death left his dominions to his adopted son, Francesco Maria delle Rovere. Incited by the entreaties of his nephew Lorenzo, Leo X. formed the design of depriving Rovere of his possessions, under the usual pretext of their having escheated to the church for want of legitimate heirs, and of vesting them in Lorenzo, with the title of duke of Urbino; but the representations of Giuliano prevented for a time the execution of his purpose; and it was not till after his death that Leo disgraced his pontificate by this signal instance of ecclesiastical rapacity. If we may give credit to Ammirato, Giuliano at one time entertained the ambitious hope of obtaining the crown of Naples (*a*); but if such a design was in contemplation, it is probable that he was incited by his more enterprizing and ambitious brother, who perhaps sought to revive the claims of the papal see upon a kingdom, to the government of which Giuliano could, in his own right, advance no pretensions. As a patron of learning, he supported the ancient dignity of his family. He is introduced to great advantage in the celebrated dialogue of Bembo on the Italian tongue (*b*), and in the yet more distinguished work of Castiglione, intitled *Il libro del Cortegiano* (*c*). In the Laurentian Library several of his

(*a*) *Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib.* xxix. *vol.* iii. *p.* 315.

(*b*) PROSE DI M. PIETRO BEMBO, NELLE QUALI SI RAIGIONA DELLA VOLGAR LINGUA; dedicated to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. first printed at Venice by *Giovan Tacuino, nel mese di Settembre del* MDXXV. *cum privilegio di Papa Clemente, &c.*

(*c*) *In Venetia nelle case d'Aldo Romano, e d'Andrea d'Asola suo suocero, nell' anno* MDXXVIII. *del mese d' Aprile, in fol.* This work has frequently been reprinted under the mor econcise title of *Il Cortegiano*, by which it is also cited

his sonnets are yet preserved (*a*); and some specimens of his composition are adduced by Crescimbeni, which, if they display not any extraordinary spirit of poetry, sufficiently prove, that, to a correct judgment, he united an elegant taste (*b*).

Naturally of an infirm constitution, Giuliano did not long enjoy his honours. Finding his health on the decline, he removed to the monastery at Fiesole, in the expectation of deriving advantage from his native air; but his hopes were frustrated, and he died there in the month of March 1516, not having then fully completed his thirty-seventh year. His death was sincerely lamented by a great majority of the citizens of Florence, whose favour he had conciliated in a high degree by his affability, moderation, and inviolable

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in the *Biblioteca Italiana* of Fontanini; but Apostolo Zeno, pleased with every opportunity of reproving the author whom he has undertaken to comment upon, shrewdly observes, in his notes on that work, "Altro è il dire semplicemente, *il Cortegiano*, come il Fontanini vorrebbe; e altro, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, come il Castiglione ha voluto dire, e lo ha detto: la prima maniera indicherebbe di voler descrivere *il Cortegiano* per quello che è; e la seconda dinota di volergli insegnare qual esser deve."

Zeno, in not. alla Bib. Ital. di Fontan. v. ii. *p.* 353.

(*a*) PLUT. xlvi. *Cod.* xxv. *No.* 3. Another copy of his poems remains in MS. in the Strozzi Library at Florence.

(*b*) *Crescimb. Comment. v.* iii. *p.* 338. Where the author confounds Giuliano, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, with Giuliano his brother, who lost his life in the conspiracy of the Pazzi: and even cites the authority of Politiano, "Che i versi volgari di lui erano a maraviglia gravi, e pieni di nobili sentimenti," as referring to the writings of the younger Giuliano, although such opinion was expressed by Politiano respecting the works of Giuliano the brother of Lorenzo, before Giuliano his son was born.

inviolable regard to his promises (*a*). His tomb, in the sacristy of the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, one of the most successful efforts of the genius of Michelagnolo, may compensate him for the want of that higher degree of reputation which he might have acquired in a longer life. His statue, seated, and in a Roman military habit, may be considered rather as characteristic of his office, as general of the church, than of his exploits. The figures which recline on each side of the sarcophagus, and are intended to represent day and night, have been the admiration of succeeding artists; but their allegorical purport may admit

(*a*) Ariosto has addressed a beautiful canzone to Filiberta of Savoy, the widow of Giuliano, commencing, *Anima eletta, che nel mondo folle*, in which the shade of the departed husband apostrophizes his surviving wife. The following lines, referring to Lorenzo the Magnificent, may serve to shew the high veneration in which the poet held his memory:

" Questo sopra ogni lume in te risplende,
" Se ben quel tempo che sì ratto corse,
" Tenesti di *Nemorse*
" Meco scettro ducal di là da' monti;
" Se ben tua bella mano freno torse,
" Al paese gentil che Appenin fende,
" E l' alpe e il mar difende:
" Nè tanto val, che a questo pregio monti,
" Che'l sacro onor de l' erudite fronti,
" Quel Tosco e'n terra e'n cielo amato LAURO,
" Socer ti fu, le cui mediche fronde
" Spesso a le piaghe, donde
" Italia morì poi, furo ristauro:
" Che fece al Indo e al Mauro,
" Sentir l' odor de suoi rami soavi;
" Onde pendean le chiavi
" Che tenean chiuso il tempio de la guerre,
" Che poi fu aperto, E NON E PIU CHI'L SERRE."

mit of a latitude of interpretation. Had the conquests of Giuliano rivalled those of Alexander the Great, we might have conjectured, with Vasari, that the artist meant to express the extent of his glory, limited only by the confines of the earth (*a*); but the hyperbole would be too extravagant; and the judicious spectator will perhaps rather regard them as emblematical of the constant change of sublunary affairs, and the brevity of human life.

Ippolito de' Medici.

By his wife Filiberta of Savoy, Giuliano de' Medici left no children; but, before his marriage, he had a natural son, who became an acknowledged branch of the family of the Medici, and, like the rest of his kindred, acquired, within the limits of a short life, a considerable share of reputation. This was the celebrated Ippolito de' Medici, who, dignified with the rank of cardinal, and possessed, by the partiality of Clement VII. of an immense revenue, was at once the patron, the companion, and the rival of all the poets, the musicians, and the wits of his time. Without territories, and without subjects, Ippolito maintained at Bologna a court far more splendid than that of any Italian potentate. His associates and attendants, all of whom could boast of some peculiar merit or distinction which had entitled them to his notice, generally formed a body of about three hundred persons. Shocked at his profusion, which only the revenues of the church were competent to supply, Clement VII. is said to have engaged the *maestro di casa* of Ippolito to remonstrate with him on

(*a*) *Vasari vita di M. A. Buonarotti.*

on his conduct, and to request that he would dismiss some of his attendants as unnecessary to him. "No," replied Ippolito, "I do not retain them in my court because I "have occasion for their services, but because they have "occasion for mine (*a*)." His translation of the second book of the Æneid into Italian blank verse is considered as one of the happiest efforts of the language, and has frequently been reprinted (*b*). Amongst the collections of Italian poetry may also be found some pieces of his own composition, which do credit to his talents (*c*).

Lorenzo de' Medici, duke of Urbino.

On the voluntary resignation of Giuliano de' Medici of the direction of the Florentine state, that important trust had been confided by Leo X. to his nephew Lorenzo, who, with the assistance of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, directed the helm of government according to the will of the pope; but the honour of holding the chief rank in the republic, although it had gratified the just ambition of

(*a*) *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 23.

(*b*) The first edition is that of Rome, *apud Antonium Bladum*, 1538, without the name of the author, who, at the foot of his dedication to a lady, whom he designates only by the appellation of *Illustrissima Signora*, assumes the title of *Il cavaliero Errante*. The second edition, now before me, is intitled, IL SECONDO DI VERGILIO *in lingua volgare volto da* HIPPOLITO DE' MEDICI *cardinale*. At the close we read, *In citta di Castello per Antonio Mazochi Cremonese, et Nicolo de Guccii da Corna, ad instantia di M. Giovan Gallo Dottor de leggi da Castello nel giorno* 20 *de Luglio* 1539. Several subsequent editions have appeared, as well separately, as united with the other books of the Æneid, translated by different persons.

(*c*) Some of them are cited by Crescimbeni, *della volgar poesia, lib.* ii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 368.

of his illustrious grandfather, was inadequate to the pretensions of Lorenzo; and the family of Rovere, after a vigorous defence, in which Lorenzo received a wound which had nearly proved mortal, was obliged to relinquish to him the sovereignty of Urbino, of which he received from the pope the ducal investiture in the year 1516 (*a*). After the death of his uncle Giuliano, he was appointed captain general of the papal troops, but his reputation for military skill scarcely stands higher than that of his predecessor. In the year 1518, he married Magdeleine de Boulogne, of the royal house of France, and the sole fruit of this union was Catherine de' Medici, afterwards the queen of Henry II. (*b*) The birth of the daughter cost the mother her life, and Lorenzo survived her only a few days, having, if we may credit Ammirato, fallen a victim to that loathsome disorder, the peculiar scourge of licentiousness, which had then recently commenced its ravages in Europe (*c*). His tomb, of

(*a*) *Nerli Comment. lib.* vi. *p.* 130.

(*b*) Si, comme les poëtes l'ont dit, l'ancienne Hecube, avant de mettre Paris au monde, etait troublée par des songes effrayans; quels noirs fantômes devaient agiter les nuits de Magdeleine de la Tour, enceinte de Catherine de Medicis? *Tenb. Mem. Gen. liv.* xx. *p.* 5.

(*c*) *Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib.* xxix. *v.* ii. *p.* 335. This disorder, which was first known in Italy about the year 1495, was not in its commencement supposed to be the result of sexual intercourse, but was attributed to the impure state of the air, to the simple touch or breath of a disordered person, or even to the use of an infected knife. Hence for a considerable time no discredit attached to the patient; and the authors of that period attribute without hesitation the death of many eminent persons, as well ecclesiastical as secular, to this complaint. In the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* lxxiii. *cod.* 38.) is a MS. intitled *Saphati Physici de morbo Gallico liber*, dedicated by the author

of the sculpture of Michelagnolo, is found amongst the splendid monuments of his family in the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence. He appears seated, in the attitude of deep meditation. At his feet recline two emblematical figures,

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Giuliano Tanio, of Prato, to Leo. X. in which he thus adverts to a learned professor who was probably one of the first victims of this disease: "Nos "anno MCCCCXCV. extrema æstate, egregium utriusque juris doctorem Domi- "num Philippum Decium, Papiensem, in Florentino Gymnasio Prati, Pisis "tunc rebellibus, publice legentem, hac labe affectum ipsi conspeximus." From the same author we learn that the disorder was supposed to have originated in a long continuance of hot and moist weather, which occurred in the same year: "Ex magna pluvia similis labes apparuit, ex quibus arguunt hunc "nostræ ætatis morbum ex simili causa ortum esse, excalida scilicet, humida- "que intemperie, quia ex pluvia scilicet anni MCCCCLXXXXV. nonis Decembris "emissa, qua Roma facta est navigabilis, ac tota fere Italia inundationes passa "est." &c. These authorities are greatly strengthened by that of the illustrious Fracastoro, who was not only the best Latin poet, but the most eminent physician of his age, and who, in his *Syphilis*, accounts for the disorder from similar causes. After adverting to the opinion that it had been brought into Europe from the western world, then lately discovered, he adds,

"At vero, si rite fidem observata merentur
"Non ita censendum: nec certe credere par est
"Esse peregrinam nobis, transque æquora vectam.
"Contagem: quoniam in primis ostendere multos.
"Possumus, attactu qui nullius, hanc tamen ipsam
"Sponte sua sensere luem, primique tulere.
"Præterea, et tantum terrarum tempore parvo,
"Contages non una simul potuisset obire."

It is remarkable also, that throughout the whole poem he has not considered this disease as the peculiar result of licentious intercourse, on which account it is perfectly unexceptionable in point of decorum. Even the shepherd *Syphilus*, introduced as an instance of its effects, is represented as having derived it from the resentment, not of Venus, but of Phœbus, excited by the adoration paid by the shepherds to Alcithous, and the neglect of his own altars; or, in other words, to the too fervid state of the atmosphere. Had the disorder in its origin been accompanied by the idea of disgrace or criminality,

figures, the rivals of those which adorn the tomb of Giuliano, and which are intended to represent morning and evening. Ariosto has also celebrated his memory in some of his most beautiful verses (*a*). Like the Egyptians, who embalm a putrid carcase with the richest odours, the artist and the poet too often lavish their divine incense on the most undeserving of mankind.

Prior

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which attends it in modern times, the author of this poem would scarcely have denominated it,

" Infanda lues, quam nostra videtis
" Corpora depasci, quam nulli aut denique pauci
" Vitamus."

The poem of Fracastoro was first published in the year 1530; but an Italian poem on the same subject, by Niccolo Campana of Siena, was printed at that place in 1519, and again at Venice in 1537, intitled *Lamento di quel Tribulato di Strascino Campana Senese sopra el male incognito el quale tratta de la patientia et impatientia.* The style of this poem is extremely gross and ludicrous; and the author, in the supposed excess of his sufferings, indulges himself in the most extravagant and profane ideas, as to the nature and origin of the complaint. At one time he supposes it to be the same disorder as that which God permitted Satan to inflict upon Job:

" Allor Sathan con tal mal pien di vitio,
" Diede a Jobbe amarissimo supplitio."

Again he asserts it to be the complaint of Simon the leper:

" Quando Cristo guarì Simon lebbroso,
" Era di questo mal pessimo iniquo."

But on no occasion does he ascribe the rise of the disorder to the cause which, from the nature of his poem, might have been expected. I shall only observe, that the use of the grand mineral specific is expressly pointed out, in both these poems, as the only certain remedy.

(*a*) Such at least I conjecture to be the purport of his poem, which commences,

" Nella stagion che'l bel tempo rimena,
" Di mia man posi un ramuscel di Lauro."

Rime del Ariosto, p. 25. ap. Giolito, 1557.

Prior to his marriage with Magdeleine of Boulogne, the duke of Urbino had an illegitimate son, named Alessandro, in whose person was consummated the destruction of the liberties of Florence. It was commonly supposed that Alessandro was the offspring of the duke by an African slave, at the time when he, with the rest of the family, were restored to Florence; and this opinion received confirmation from his thick lips, crisped hair, and dark complexion. But it is yet more probable that he was the son of Clement VII. Such at least was the information given to the historian Ammirato by the grand duke Cosmo I. at the time when he read to him the memoirs which he had prepared respecting his family; and the predilection of the pontiff for this equivocal descendant of the house of Medici adds probability to the report (*a*). But whatever was his origin, the circumstances of the times, and the ambition of those who protected his infancy, equally dispensed with the disadvantages of his birth, and his want of inherent merit. On failure of the legitimate branch of Cosmo de' Medici, usually styled the father of his country, derived through Lorenzo the Magnificent, Alessandro and Ippolito became necessary implements in the hands of Clement VII. to prevent the credit and authority of the family from passing to the collateral branch derived from Lorenzo the brother of Cosmo, which had gradually risen to great distinction in the state, and of which it will now be necessary to give a brief account.

Pierfrancesco de' Medici, the son of the elder Lorenzo, to whom we have before had occasion to advert (*b*), died in

(*a*) *Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib.* xxx. *v.* iii. *p.* 335. (*b*) *v. ante, vol.* I. *p.* 135.

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Descendants of Lorenzo de' Medici, the brother of Cosmo.

in the year 1459, having bequeathed his immense possessions, obtained from his share in the profits acquired by the extensive traffic of the family, to his two sons, Lorenzo and Giovanni. Following the example of their father, and emulous rather of wealth than of honours, the sons of Pierfrancesco had for several years confined themselves to the limits of a private condition, although they had occasionally filled the chief offices of the republic, in common with other respectable citizens. On the expulsion of Piero, the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, from Florence, in the year 1494, they endeavoured to avail themselves of his misconduct, and of the importance which they had gradually acquired, to aspire to the chief direction of the republic, and divesting themselves of the invidious name of Medici, assumed that of *Popolani*. The restoration of the descendants of Lorenzo the Magnificent to Florence, the elevation of his second son to the pontificate, and the series of prosperity enjoyed by the family under his auspices, and under those of Clement VII. had repressed their ambition, or frustrated their hopes; and Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pierfrancesco, passed through life in a subordinate rank, the former of them leaving at his death a son, named Pierfrancesco, and the latter a son Giovanni, to inherit their immense wealth, and perpetuate the hereditary rivalship of the two families (*a*). But whilst the descendants of Cosmo, the father of his country, existed only in females, or

(*a*) Furono i due fratelli richissimi—di meglio che centocinquanta mila scudi, e possedevano di beni stabili, fra gli altri la casa grande di Firenze, il palazzo di Fiesole, di Trebbio, di Caffagiolo, e di Castello.

Ald. Manucc. vita di Cosmo, v. i. p. 27.

or in a spurious offspring, those of his brother Lorenzo continued in a legitimate succession of males, and were invigorated with talents the most formidable to their rivals, and the most flattering to their own hopes. Adopting from his youth a military life, Giovanni de' Medici became one of the most celebrated commanders that Italy had ever produced. By the appellation of captain of the *bande nere*, his name carried terror amongst his enemies. His courage was of the most ferocious kind. Equally insensible to pity and to danger, his opponents denominated him *Il gran Diavolo* (*a*). As the fervour of youth subsided, the talents of the commander began to be developed; but in the midst of his honours his career was terminated by a cannon ball, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. By his wife Maria Salviati, the offspring of Lucrezia, one of the daughters of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he left a son, Cosmo de' Medici, who, after the death of Alessandro, obtained the permanent sovereignty of Tuscany, and was the first who assumed the title of Grand Duke.

Giovanni de' Medici.

The younger Pierfrancesco left also a son, named Lorenzo, who, as well on account of his diminutive person, as to distinguish him from others of his kindred of the same name, was usually denominated *Lorenzino*, and who was destined with his own hand to terminate the contest between the two families. Though small of stature, Lorenzino was active and well proportioned. His complexion was dark, his countenance serious: when he smiled it seemed

Lorenzino de' Medici.

(*a*) *Varchi, Storia Fior. lib.* ii. *p.* 25. *Ed. Leyden.* The mother of Giovanni was Caterina Sforza, the widow of Girolamo Riario, who, after the death of her husband, had married the elder Giovanni de' Medici. *v. ante, p.* 164.

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seemed to be by constraint. His mother, who was of the powerful family of Soderini, had carefully attended to his education; and as his capacity was uncommonly quick, he made an early proficiency in polite letters. His elegant comedy intitled *Aridosio*, still ranks with those works which are selected as models of the Italian language (*a*). Enterprizing, restless, fond of commotions, and full of the examples of antiquity, he had addicted himself when young to the society of Filippo Strozzi, who to an ardent love of liberty united an avowed contempt for all the political and religious institutions of his time. The talents and accomplishments of Lorenzino recommended him to Clement VII. under whose countenance he resided for some time at the Roman court; but an extravagant adventure deprived him of the favour of the pope, and compelled him to quit the city. It appeared one morning, that, during the preceding night, the statues in the arch of Constantine, and in other parts of the city, had been broken and defaced, a circumstance which so exasperated the pope, that he issued positive orders that whoever had committed the outrage, except it should appear to be the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, should be immediately hanged (*b*). This exception indeed strongly implies that the

(*a*) Crescimbeni informs us, that this comedy was written by Lorenzino in *versi vulgari*, and printed at Bologna in 1548; and that it is also found in prose, printed at Lucca in the same year, and reprinted at Florence in 1595. *Della volgar Poesia, vol.* v. *p.* 141. Crescimbeni is however mistaken; the edition of Bologna 1548 is now before me, and is wholly written in prose. That of Florence, 1595, is enumerated by the academicians *Della Crusca*, as one of the *Testi di Lingua*.

(*b*) It has been suggested to me by very respectable authority that the heads of these statues and bas rilievos were more probably stolen by Loren-

the cardinal was not free from suspicion; but whoever was the delinquent, Lorenzino bore the whole odium of the affair, and it required all the influence that Ippolito possessed with the pope to rescue his kinsman from the denunciations issued against the offender. Lorenzino gladly took the earliest opportunity of quitting the city, and retreated to his native place, where, transferring his resentment from the dead to the living, he soon afterwards acted a principal part in a much more important transaction (*a*).

Alessandro assumes the sovereignty of Florence.

To the energy and activity of Lorenzino, and the courage of Giovanni de' Medici, Clement VII. could only oppose the dissipation and inexperience of Ippolito and Alessandro; but the turbulent disposition of the Florentines seconded his views, and the premature death of Giovanni, whilst it exposed his dominions to the ravages of the German troops, relieved him from his apprehensions of his most dangerous rival (*b*). Having prevailed on the emperor and the king of France to concur in his design, he seized the opportunity afforded him by the civil dissensions of the Florentines,

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zino for the sake of their beauty. They are even said to be yet extant in the museum at Florence.

(*a*) *Varchi, Storia Fior. lib.* xv. *p.* 618.

(*b*) The authority of the senator Nerli leaves no room for doubt on this head. "Non poteva quella morte seguire in tempo, ch' ella desse più uni-" versale dispiacere, nè anco in tempo, che il papa più la stimasse, perchè " s'ella seguiva in altri tempi, che sua Santita non avesse avuto sì urgente pe-" ricolo sopra il capo, non gli arrecava per avventura dispiacere alcuno, ri-" manendo sicuro, e libero della gelosia grande, ch' egli aveva del nome sola-" mente del Sig. Giovanni, rispetto agl' interessi, e alla proprietà d'Alessan-" dro, e d'Ippolito, i quali desiderava che fussero quelli, che possedessero lo " stato, le facultà, e la grandezza di casa Medici."

Nerli, Comment. lib. vii. *p.* 145.

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rentines, and, in the year 1532, compelled them to place at the head of the government Alessandro de' Medici, with the title of *Doge* of the Florentine republic (*a*). The authority of Alessandro was soon afterwards strengthened by his marriage with Margaretta of Austria, a natural daughter of the emperor Charles V. The cardinal Ippolito, jealous of his success, had attempted to pre-occupy the government; disappointed in his hopes, and disgusted with his ecclesiastical trappings, which ill suited the rapidity of his motions, and the vivacity of his character, he united his efforts with those of Filippo Strozzi, who had married Clarice, the sister of Lorenzo duke of Urbino, to deprive Alessandro of his new dignity; but before the arrangement could be made for the meditated attack, Ippolito suddenly died of poison, administered to him by one of his domestics (*b*), leaving his competitor in the undisturbed possession of his newly acquired power.

The

(*a*) Alessandro is generally styled by the Italian authors the *first duke of Florence*, but in this they are not strictly accurate. His title of *duke* was derived from Città, or Cività di Penna, and had been assumed by him several years before he obtained the direction of the Florentine state. It must also be observed, that Alessandro did not, as Robertson conceives, "enjoy the same "absolute dominion as his family have retained to the present times," *Hist. Cha.* V. *book* v. he being only declared chief or prince of the republic, and his authority being in some measure counteracted or restrained by two councils chosen from the citizens, for life, one of which consisted of forty-eight, and the other of two hundred members. *Varchi, Storia Fior. p.* 497. *Nerli Com. lib.* xi. *p.* 257. 264. These distinctions are deserving of notice, as they serve to shew the gradual progress by which a free country is deprived of its liberties.

(*b*) The person who administered the poison was said to be Giovan-Andrea di Borgo San Sepolcro, the steward or bailiff of Ippolito, who was supposed to have effected this treachery at the instance of Alessandro; and this suspicion received confirmation by his having escaped punishment, although he confessed the crime; and by his having afterwards been received at the court of Alessandro at Florence. *Varchi, Storia Fior, p.* 566.

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Alessandro assassinated by Lorenzino.

The period however now approached which was to transfer the dominion of Florence from the descendants of Lorenzo the Magnificent, to the kindred stock. In the secure possession of power, Alessandro knew no restraint. Devoted to the indulgence of an amorous passion, he sought its gratification among women of all descriptions, married and unmarried, religious and secular; insomuch that neither rank nor virtue could secure the favourite object from his licentious rapacity (*a*). The spirit of the Florentines,

(*a*) Notwithstanding the dissolute character of Alessandro, it appears that he was possessed of strong natural sagacity, and, on some occasions, administered justice not only with impartiality, but with ability. On this head, Ammirato relates an anecdote which is worth repeating: A rich old citizen of Bergamo had lent to one of his countrymen at Florence 400 crowns, which he advanced without any person being present, and without requiring a written acknowledgment. When the stipulated time had elapsed, the creditor required his money—but the borrower, well apprized that no proof could be brought against him, positively denied that he had ever received it. After many fruitless attempts to recover it, the lender was advised to resort to the duke, who would find some method of doing him justice. Alessandro accordingly ordered both the parties before him, and after hearing the assertions of the one and the positive denial of the other, he turned to the creditor, saying, "Is it possible then, friend, that you can have lent your money when no one "was present?"—"There was no one indeed," replied the creditor, "I "counted out the money to him on a post."—"Go, bring the post then this "instant," said the duke, "and I will make it confess the truth." The creditor, though astonished on receiving such an order, hastened to obey, having first received a secret caution from the duke not to be very speedy in his return. In the mean time the duke employed himself in transacting the affairs of his other suitors, till at length turning again towards the borrower, "This "man," says he, "stays a long time with his post."—"It is so heavy, sir," replied the other, "that he could not yet have brought it." Again Alessandro left him, and returning some time afterwards, carelessly exclaimed, "What "kind of men are they that lend their money without evidence—was there no "one present but the post?"—"No indeed, sir," replied the knave. "The "post is a good witness then," said the duke, "and shall make thee pay the "man his money." *Ammir. Stor. Fior. lib.* xxxi. *v.* iii. *p.* 434.

Florentines, though sinking under the yoke of despotism, began to revolt at this more opprobrious species of tyranny, and the absentees and malecontents became daily more numerous and more respectable. But whilst the storm was gathering in a remote quarter, a blow from a kindred hand unexpectedly freed the Florentines from their oppressor, and afforded them once more an opportunity of asserting that liberty to which their ancestors had been so long devoted. Lorenzino de' Medici was the second Brutus who burst the bonds of consanguinity in the expectation of being the deliverer of his country. But the principle of political virtue was now extinct, and it was no longer a subject of doubt whether the Florentines should be enslaved; it only remained to be determined who should be the tyrant. On his return from Rome to Florence, Lorenzino had frequented the court of Alessandro, and, by his unwearied assiduity and singular accomplishments, had ingratiated himself with the duke to such a degree, as to become his chief confidant, and the associate of his licentious amours. But whilst Lorenzino accompanied him amidst these scenes of dissipation, he had formed the firm resolution of accomplishing his destruction, and sought only for a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose. This idea seems to have occupied his whole soul, and influenced all his conduct. Even in the warmth of familiarity which apparently subsisted between them, he could not refrain from adverting to the design of which his mind was full, and by jests and insinuations gave earnest of his intention. Cellini relates, that on his attending the duke Alessandro with his portrait executed as a medal, he found him indisposed

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and reclined on his bed, with Lorenzino as his companion. After boasting, as was his custom, of the wonders which he could perform in his profession, the artist concluded with expressing his hopes, that Lorenzino would favour him with a subject for an apposite reverse. "That is exactly "what I am thinking of," replied Lorenzino, with great vivacity; "I hope ere long to furnish such a reverse as "will be worthy of the duke, and will astonish the "world (*a*)." The blind confidence of Alessandro prevented his suspicions, and he turned on his bed with a contemptuous smile at the folly or the arrogance of his relation. But whilst Lorenzino thus hazarded the destruction of his enterprize by the levity of his discourse, he prepared for its execution with the most scrupulous caution (*b*). The duke having selected as the object of his passion the wife of Lionardo Ginori, then on a public embassy at Naples, Lorenzino, to whom she was nearly related, undertook with his usual assiduity to promote the suit. Pretending that his representations had been successful, he prevailed upon the duke to pass the night with him at his own house, where he promised him the completion of his wishes. In the mean time he prepared a chamber for his reception; and having engaged as his assistant a man of desperate fortunes and character, called Scoroncocolo, waited with impatience for his arrival. At the appointed hour, the duke having left the palace in a mask,

(*a*) *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, p.* 222.

(*b*) The particulars of this transaction are related at great length by Varchi, who had his information from Lorenzino himself, after the perpetration of the deed. *Storia Fior. lib.* XV.

mask, according to his custom when he was engaged in nocturnal adventures, came unobserved to the house of Lorenzino, and was received by him in the fatal chamber. After some familiar conversation, Lorenzino left him to repose on the bed, with promises of a speedy return. On his quitting the chamber, he stationed his coadjutor where he might be in readiness to assist him, in case he should fail in his first attempt, and gently opening the door, approached the bed, and inquired from the duke if he was asleep, at the same instant passing his sword through his body. On receiving the wound the duke sprang up and attempted to escape at the door; but, on a signal given by Lorenzino, he was attacked there by Scoroncocolo, who wounded him deeply in the face. Lorenzino then grappled with the duke, and throwing him on the bed, endeavoured to prevent his cries. In the struggle the duke seized the finger of Lorenzino in his mouth, and retained it with such violence, that Scoroncocolo, finding it impossible to separate them so as to dispatch the duke without danger of wounding Lorenzino, deliberately took a knife from his pocket, and cut him across the throat. The completion of their purpose was however only the commencement of their difficulties. Scoroncocolo, who probably knew not that the person he had assassinated was the duke, until the transaction was over, was so terrified as to be wholly unable to judge for himself of the measures to be adopted for his own safety. To the active mind of Lorenzino various expedients presented themselves, and he hesitated for some time whether he should openly avow the deed, and call upon his countrymen to assert their liberties, or should endeavour to make his escape to the absentees, to whom

the information which he had to communicate would give new energy, and a fair opportunity of success. Of these measures the last seemed on many accounts to be the most advisable. Having therefore locked the door of the chamber, in which he left the dead body of the duke, he proceeded secretly to Bologna, expecting there to meet with Filippo Strozzi, but finding that he had quitted that place, he followed him to Venice, where he related to him his atchievements. Filippo, well acquainted with the excentricity of his character, refused for some time to credit his story, till Lorenzino, producing the key of the chamber, and exhibiting his hand which had been mutilated in the contest, at length convinced him of its truth. The applause bestowed by Filippo and his adherents on Lorenzino, was in proportion to the incredulity which they had before expressed. He was saluted as another Brutus, as the deliverer of his country; and Filippo immediately began to assemble his adherents, in order to avail himself of so favourable an opportunity of restoring to the citizens of Florence their ancient rights (*a*).

Motives and consequences of the attempt.

The Italian historians have endeavoured to develope the motives that led Lorenzino to the perpetration of this deed, and have sought for them in the natural malignity of

(*a*) On this occasion a medal was struck, bearing on one side the head of Lorenzino, and on the other the cap of liberty between two daggers; being the same device as that which had before been adopted by, or applied to, the younger Brutus. *v. Palin. Famil. Rom. p.* 142. This medal is in the collection of the earl of Orford.

of his disposition; as a proof of which he is said to have acknowledged, that during his residence at Rome, notwithstanding the kindness shewn to him by Clement VII. he often felt a strong inclination to murder him. They have also attributed them to a desire of immortalizing his name by being considered as the deliverer of his country; to a principle of revenge for the insult which he received from the pope, in being banished from Rome, which he meant to repay in the person of Alessandro, his reputed son; and, lastly, to his enmity to the collateral branch of the Medici family, by which he was excluded from the chief dignity of the state. How far any of these conjectures may be well founded, it is not easy to determine. Human conduct is often the result of impulses, which, whilst they arise in various directions, determine the mind towards the same object, and possibly all, or most of the causes before stated, might have concurred in producing so signal an effect. Aware of the misconstruction to which his principles were liable, Lorenzino wrote an apologetical discourse, which has been preserved to the present times, and throws considerable light on this singular transaction. In this piece he first attempts to demonstrate that Alessandro was an execrable tyrant, who, during the six years that he held the chief authority, had exceeded the enormities of Nero, of Caligula, and of Phalaris. He accuses him of having occasioned by poison the death, not only of the cardinal Ippolito, but of his own mother, who resided in an humble station at *Collevecchio*, and whose poverty he conceived was a reproach to the dignity of his rank; and denies that the blood of any branch of the Medici family

mily flowed in his veins. He then justifies, with great plausibility, the conduct adopted by him after the death of the duke, in quitting the city to join the absentees; and after vindicating himself from the imputation of having been induced by any other motive than an earnest desire to liberate his country from a state of intolerable servitude, he concludes with lamenting, that the want of energy and virtue in his fellow-citizens prevented them from availing themselves of the opportunity which he had afforded them of re-establishing their ancient government (*a*). But whatever were the motives of this deed, the consequences of it were such as have generally been the result of similar attempts—the riveting of those chains which it was intended to break. The natural abhorrence of treachery, and the sentiment of pity excited for the devoted object, counteract the intended purpose, and throw an odium even on the cause of liberty itself. No end can justify the sacrifice of a principle, nor was a crime ever necessary in the course of human affairs. The sudden burst of vindictive passion may sometimes operate important changes on the fate of nations, but the event is seldom within the limits of human calculation. It is only the calm energy of reason, constantly bearing up against the encroachments of power, that can with certainty perpetuate the freedom, or promote the happiness of the human race.

After the perpetration of this deed, Lorenzino, not conceiving himself in safety within the limits of Italy, continued his route till he arrived at Constantinople, from whence,

(*a*) For the *Apologia* of Lorenzino, *v. App. No.* LXXXIV.

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whence, after a short residence, he returned again to Venice. Having passed eleven years of exile and anxiety, he was himself assassinated by two Florentine soldiers, who, under the pretext of avenging the death of Alessandro, probably sought to ingratiate themselves with his successor, by removing a person who derived from his birth undoubted pretensions to the credit and authority which had for ages been attached to the chief of the house of Medici.

Cosmo de' Medici first grand duke.

The adherents of the ruling family, at the head of whom was the cardinal Cibò, who had been the chief minister of Alessandro, conducted themselves with great prudence on the death of the duke; and before they permitted the event to be made public, not only secured the soldiery within the city, but summoned to their assistance all their allies in the vicinity of the Florentine state. They then assembled the inhabitants, avowedly to deliberate on the state of the republic, but in fact rather to receive than to dictate a form of government. If Lorenzino was the Brutus of his age, an Octavius was found in his cousin, Cosmo de' Medici, the son of Giovanni, general of the *bande nere*, and then about eighteen years of age. Being informed of the unexpected disposition of the citizens in his favour, Cosmo hastened from his seat at Mugello to Florence, where, on the ninth day of January 1536, he was invested with the sovereignty by the more modest title of chief of the republic. Despotism generally proceeds with cautious steps, and Augustus and Cosmo affected the name of citizen, whilst they governed with absolute authority.

Death of Filippo Strozzi, and final extinction of the republic.

To the election of Cosmo little opposition had been made within the city. The proposition of Pallas Rucellai,

to

to admit the party of the Strozzi to their deliberations, and that of Giovanni Canigiani, to place the supreme command in an illegitimate and infant son of Alessandro, had met with few supporters (*a*). But the numerous exiles, who by compulsion, or in disgust, had quitted their native country during the government of Alessandro, had already begun to convene together from all parts of Italy, in hopes of effecting their restoration, and of establishing a form of government more consistent with their views. The cardinals Ridolfi and Salviati, both grandsons of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Bartolomeo Valori, and other citizens of high rank, uniting with Filippo Strozzi, raised a considerable body of troops, and approached towards the city; but more powerful parties had already interposed, and the fate of Florence no longer depended on the virtue or the courage of its inhabitants, but on the will of the emperor, or on the precarious aid of the French. Sensible of the advantages which he had already obtained by holding at his devotion the Florentine state, and that such influence was inconsistent with a republican government, Charles V. openly approved of the election of Cosmo, and directed his troops, then in Italy, to support his cause. The exiles having possessed themselves of the fortress of *Montemurlo*, in the vicinity of Florence, were unexpectedly attacked there by the Florentine troops under the command of

(*a*) Besides an illegitimate son named Giulio, Alessandro left two illegitimate daughters, Porcia and Juliet. The son entered into the church, and became grand prior of the order of S. Stefano. Porcia took the veil, and founded the convent of S. Clement at Florence. Juliet married Francesco Cantelmo, son of the duke di Popoli, a Neapolitan nobleman.

Tenh. Mem. Gen. liv. xxii. *p.* 62.

CHAP. X.

of Alessandro Vitelli, in the night of the first of August 1538, and their defeat fixed the destiny of their country. Bartolomeo Valori, with his two sons, and Filippo his nephew, were made prisoners, and conducted to Florence, where he, with one of his sons, and his nephew, was decapitated. Many other of the insurgents experienced a similar fate. The rest were consigned to the dungeons in different parts of Tuscany. Filippo Strozzi, the magnanimous assertor of the liberties of his country, languished upwards of twelve months in the prisons of Castello, and his situation became more hopeless in proportion as the authority of Cosmo became more established. After an interval of time which ought to have obliterated the remembrance of his offence, he was cruelly subjected to torture, under the pretext of discovering the accomplices of his unfortunate enterprize. Finding that the remonstrances of his friends with the emperor and the duke were not only ineffectual, but that the latter had resolved to expose his fortitude to a second trial, he called to his mind the example of Cato of Utica, and fell by his own hand, a devoted victim to the cause of freedom (*a*).

Conclusion.

Thus terminated the Florentine republic, which had subsisted amidst the agitations of civil commotions, and the shock of external attacks, for upwards of three centuries, and had produced from its circumscribed territory a greater

(*a*) The life of Filippo Strozzi was written by his brother Lorenzo, with great candour and impartiality, and is published at the close of the Florentine history of Benedetto Varchi. *Ed. Leyd. sine an.* After the death of Filippo, a paper in his own hand-writing was found in his bosom, which is given in the Appendix, *No.* LXXXV.

a greater number of eminent men than any other country in Europe. This singular pre-eminence is chiefly to be attributed to the nature of its government, which called forth the talents of every rank of citizens, and admitted them without distinction to the chief offices of the state. But the splendor which the Florentines derived from examples of public virtue, and efforts of superlative genius, was frequently tarnished by the sanguinary contests of rival parties. The beneficent genius of Lorenzo de' Medici for a time removed this reproach, and combined a state of high intellectual improvement with the tranquillity of well-ordered government. The various pursuits in which he himself engaged appear indeed to have been subservient only to the great purpose of humanizing and improving his countrymen. His premature death left the commonwealth without a pilot, and after a long series of agitation, the hapless wreck became a rich and unexpected prize to Cosmo de' Medici. With Cosmo, who afterwards assumed the title of grand duke, commences a dynasty of sovereigns, which continued in an uninterrupted succession until the early part of the present century, when the sceptre of Tuscany passed from the imbecile hands of Gaston de' Medici, into the stronger grasp of the family of Austria. During the government of Cosmo, the talents of the Florentines, habituated to great exertions, but suddenly debarred from further interference with the direction of the state, sought out new channels, and displayed themselves in works of genius and of art, which threw a lustre on the sovereign, and gave additional credit to the new establishment; but as those who were born under the republic retired in the course of nature, the energies of the Florentines

CHAP. X.

rentines gradually declined. Under the equalizing hand of despotism, whilst the diffusion of literature was promoted, the exertions of original genius were suppressed. The numerous and illustrious families, whose names had for ages been the glory of the republic, the Soderini, the Strozzi, the Ridolfi, the Ruccellai, the Valori, and the Capponi, who had negotiated with monarchs, and operated by their personal characters on the politics of Europe, sunk at once to the uniform level of subjects, and became the subordinate and domestic officers of the ruling family. From this time the history of Florence is the history of the alliances, the negotiations, the virtues, or the vices, of its reigning prince; and even towards these the annals of the times furnish but scanty documents. The Florentine historians, as if unwilling to perpetuate the records of their subjugation, have almost invariably closed their labours with the fall of the republic, and the desire of information fortunately terminates where the want of it begins.

POESIE

DEL MAGNIFICO

LORENZO DE' MEDICI,

TRATTE DA TESTI A PENNA

DELLA LIBRERIA MEDICEO-LAURENZIANA.

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A SUOI COMPATRIOTTI

AMATORI DELLA BELLA FAVELLA ITALIANA.

L'Editore.

NEL darvi a leggere questi poemetti, che il mio caro amico, e concittadino, il Sig. GUGLIELMO CLARKE, accuratamente trasse dagli originali esistenti nella *Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana*, d'altro non occorre avvertirvi, se non, che per darvi un saggio della lingua Toscana, nel secolo del 1400, l'antica ortografia è stata, per quanto fu possibile, conservata.

AMBRA.

FAVOLA.

FUGITA è la stagion, ch' avea conversi
E fiori in pomi già maturi, e colti;
In ramo più non può foglia tenersi,
Ma sparte per li boschi assai men folti
Si fan sentir, se avvien che gli attraversi
Il cacciator, e pochi paion molti:
La fera, se ben l' orme vaghe asconde,
Non va secreta per le secche fronde.

Fra gli arbor secchi stassi 'l lauro lieto,
E di Ciprigna l' odorato arbusto;
Verdeggia nelle bianche Alpe l' abeto,
E piega i rami già di neve onusto;
Tiene il cipresso qualche uccel secreto;
E con venti combatte il pin robusto;
L'umil ginepro con le acute foglie,
Le man non pugne altrui, che ben le coglie,

L' uliva,

L' uliva, in qualche dolce piaggia aprica,
Secondo il vento, par or verde, or bianca:
Natura in questa tal serba, e nutrica
Quel verde, che nell' altre fronde manca:
Già i peregrini uccei con gran fatica
Hanno condotto la famiglia stanca
Di là del mare, e pel cammin lor mostri
Nereidi, Tritoni, e gli altri mostri.

Ha combattuto dell' imperio, e vinto
La notte, e prigion mena il breve giorno:
Nel ciel seren d' eterne fiamme cinto
Lieta il carro stellato mena intorno;
Nè prima surge, ch' in oceano tinto
Si vede l' altro aurato carro adorno;
Orion freddo col coltel minaccia
Phebo, se mostra a noi la bella faccia.

Seguon questo notturno carro ardente
Vigilie, escubie, sollecite cure,
E 'l sonno, e benchè sia molto potente,
Queste importune il vincon spesso pure,
E i dolci sogni, che ingannon la mente,
Quando è oppressa da fortune dure:
Di sanità, d' assai tesor fa festa
Alcun, che infermo e povero si desta.

O miser quel, che in notte così lunga
Non dorme, e 'l disiato giorno aspetta;
Se avvien, che molto, e dolce disio il punga,
Quale il futuro giorno li prometta;
E benchè ambo le ciglia insieme aggiunga,
E i pensier tristi escluda, e i dolci ammetta;
Dormendo, o desto, acciochè il tempo inganni,
Gli par la notte un secol di cent' anni.

O miser chi tra l' onde trova fuora
Sì lunga notte, assai lontan dal lito;
E 'l cammin rompe della cieca prora
Il vento, e freme il mar un fer mugito;
Con molti prieghi e voti l' Aurora
Chiamata, sta col suo vecchio marito:
Numera tristo, e disioso guarda
I passi lenti della notte tarda.

Quanto è diversa, anzi contraria sorte
De' lieti amanti nell' algente bruma,
A cui le notti sono chiare, e corte,
Il giorno oscuro, e tardo si consuma.
Nella stagion così gelida, e forte,
Già rivestiti di novella piuma,
Hanno deposto gli augelletti alquanto,
Non so s'io dica, o lieti versi, o pianto.

Stridendo in ciel e gru veggonsi a lunge
L' aere stampar di varie, e belle forme;
E l' ultima col collo steso aggiunge
Ov' è quella dinanzi alle vane orme;
E poichè negli aprichi lochi giunge,
Vigile un guarda, e l' altra schiera dorme;
Cuoprono i prati, e van leggier pe' laghi
Mille spetie d' uccei, dipinti, e vaghi.

L' Aquila spesso col volato lento
Minaccia tutti, e sopra il stagno vola,
Levonsi insieme, e caccionla col vento
Delle penne stridenti, e se pur sola
Una fuor resta del pennuto armento,
L' uccel di Giove subito la invola:
Resta ingannata misera, se crede
Andarne a Giove come Ganimede.

Zefiro s'è fuggito in Cipri, e balla
Co' fiori ozioso per l' erbetta lieta;
L' aria non più serena, bella, e gialla,
Borea, ed Aquilon rompe, ed inquieta:
L' acqua corrente e querula incristalla
Il ghiaccio, e stracca or si riposa cheta:
Preso il pesce nell' onda dura e chiara,
Resta come in ambra aurea zanzara.

Quel monte, che s'oppone a Cauro fero,
Che non molesti il gentil fior cresciuto
Nel suo grembo d' onor, ricchezze, e 'mpero,
Cigne di nebbie il capo già canuto;
Gli omer cadenti giù dal capo altero
Cuoprono i bianchi crini, e 'l petto irsuto:
L' orribil barba, ch' è pel ghiaccio rigida:
Fan gli occhi, e 'l naso un fonte, e 'l ciel lo 'nfrigida.

La nebulosa ghirlanda, che cigne
L' alte tempie, gli mette Noto in testa;
Borea dall' Alpe poi la caccia, e spigne,
E nudo, e bianco, il vecchio capo resta;
Noto sopra l' ale umide, e maligne
Le nebbie porta, e par di nuovo il vesta;
Così MORELLO *irato, or carco, or lieve,*
Minaccia al pian subietto or acqua, or neve.

Partesi d' Etiopia caldo e tinto
Austro, e sazia le assettate spugne,
Nell' onde salse di Tirreno intinto,
Appena a' destinati luoghi giugne,
Gravido d' acqua, e da nugoli cinto,
E stanco stringe poi ambo le pugne;
I fiumi lieti contro alle acque antiche
Escono allor delle caverne antiche.

Rendono

Rendono grazie ad Ocean padre adorni
D'ulve, e di fronde fluvial le tempie;
Suonan per festa conche, e torti corni,
Tumido il ventre già, superbo sempre.
Lo sdegno conceputo molti giorni
Contro alle ripe timide s'adempie;
Spumoso ha rotto già l' inimic' argine,
Nè serva il corso dell' antico margine.

Non per vie torte, o per camimino oblico,
A guisa di serpenti, a gran volumi
Sollecitan la via al padre antico;
Congiungo l' onde insieme i lontan fiumi,
E dice l' uno all' altro, come amico,
Nuove del suo paese, e de' costumi:
Così parlando insieme in strana voce,
Ciercon, nè truovon, la smarrita foce.

Quando gonfiato, e largo si ristrigne
Tra gli alti monti d' una chiusa valle,
Stridon frenate, turbide, e maligne
L' onde, e miste con terra paion gialle:
E gravi petre sopra petre pigne,
Irato a' sassi dell' angusto calle;
L' onde spumose gira, e orribil freme:
Vede il pastor dall' alto, e sicur teme.

Tal fremito piangendo rende trista
La terra dentro al cavo ventre adusta;
Caccia col fumo fuor fiamma, e acqua mista
Gridando, che esce per la bocca angusta;
Terribile agli orecchi, et alla vista:
Teme vicina il suono alta, e combusta
VOLTERRA, *e i lagon torbidi, che spumano,*
E piova aspetta se più alto fumano.

Così crucciato il fer torrente frende
Superbo, e le contrarie ripe rode;
Ma poichè nel pian largo si distende,
Quasi contenta, allora appena s' ode:
Incerto se in su torna, o se pur scende,
Ha di monti distanti fatto prode;
Già vincitor, al cheto lago incede,
Di rami, e tronchi pien, montane prede.

Appena è suta a tempo la villana
Pavida a aprir alle bestie la stalla;
Porta il figlio, che piange nella zana;
Segue la figlia grande, et ha la spalla
Grave di panni vili, lini, e lana:
Va l' altra vecchia masseritia a galla:
Nuotano i porci, e spaventati i buoi,
Le pecorelle, che non si tosan poi.

Alcun della famiglia s'è ridotto
In cima della casa, e su dal tetto
La povera ricchezza vede ir sotto,
La fatica, la speme, e per sospetto
Di se stesso, non duolsi, en non fa motto;
Teme alla vita il cor nel tristo petto,
Nè di quel ch' è più car par cento faccia;
Così la maggior cura ogni altra caccia.

La nota, e verde ripa aller non frena
I pesci lieti, che han più ampj spazj:
L' antica, e giusta voglia alquanto è piena
Di veder nuovi liti; e non ben sazj
Questo nuovo piacer vaghi li mena
A veder le ruine, e i grandi strazj
Degli edificj, e statto l' acqua i muri
Veggon lieti, ed ancer non ben sicuri.

In guisa allor di piccola isoletta,
Ombrone, amante superbo, Ambra cigne;
Ambra non meno da Lauro diletta,
Geloso, se 'l rival la tocca, e strigne;
Ambra Driade a Delia sua accetta,
Quanto alcuna che stral fuor d' arco pigne;
Tanto bella, e gentil, ch' al fin le noce,
Leggier di piedi, e più ch' altra veloce.

Fu da' primi anni questa Nympha amata
Dal suo Lauro gentil, pastore alpino,
D' un casto amor, non era penetrata
Lasciva fiamma al petto peregrino;
Fugiendo il caldo un dì nuda era entrata
Nelle onde fredde d' Ombron, d' Appenino
Figlio, superbo in vista, e ne' costumi,
Pel padre antico, et cento frati fiumi.

Come le membra verginali entrorno
Nelle acque brune e gelide, sentìo,
Et, mosso da leggiadro corpo adorno,
Della spelonca uscì l' altero Dio,
Dalla sinistra prese il torto corno,
E nudo il resto, accieso di disìo,
Difende il capo inculto a' phebei raggi,
Coronato d' abeti, e montan faggi.

E verso il loco ove la Nympha stassi,
Giva plan pian, coperto dalle fronde;
Nè era visto, nè sentire i passi
Lasciava il mormorìo delle chiare onde;
Così vicin tanto alla Nympha fassi,
Che giunger crede le sue treccie bionde,
E quella bella Nympha in braccio havere,
E nudo, il nudo e bel corpo tenere.

Sicome pesce, alhor che incauto cuopra
El pescator con rara et sottil maglia,
Fuggie la rete qual sente di sopra,
Lasciando per fuggir alcuna scaglia;
Così la Nympha, quando par si scuopra,
Fuggie lo Dio, che adosso se le scaglia;
Nè fu sì presta, anzi fu si presto elli,
Che in man lasciolli alcun de' suoi capelli.

E saltando dell' onde strigne il passo,
Di timor piena fuggie nuda, e scalza;
Lascia i panni, e li strali, et il turcasso;
Non cura i pruni acuti, o l' aspra balza;
Resta lo Dio dolente, afflitto, e lasso,
Pel dolor le man stringe, al ciel gli occhi alza,
Maladisce la man crudele, e tarda,
Quando i biondi capelli svelti guarda.

E seguendola alhor, diceva, o mano
A vellere i bei crin presta, e feroce,
Ma a tener quel corpo più che humano,
E farmi lieto, ohimè, poco veloce:
Così piangendo il primo errore invano,
Credendo almeno aggiugner con la voce
Dove arrivar non puote il passo tardo,
Gridava, o Nympha, un fiume sono, et ardo;

Tu m'accendesti in mezzo alle fredde acque
El petto d' uno ardente desir cieco;
Perchè, come nell' onde il corpo giacque,
Non giace, che starìa meglio, con meco?
Se l' ombra, e l' acqua mia chiara ti piacque,
Più belle ombre, più belle acque ha il mio speco;
Piaccionti le mie cose, e non piaccio io?
Et son pur d' Appenin figliuolo, et Dio.

La Nympha fuggie, e sorda a' prieghi fassi,
A' bianchi piè aggiugne ale il timore;
Sollecita lo Dio correndo i passi,
Fatti a seguir veloci dall' amore;
Vede da pruni et da taglienti sassi,
I bianchi piè ferir con gran dolore;
Crescie el desìo, pel quale aghiaccia, e suda,
Veggendola fuggir, si bella, e nuda.

Timida, e vergognosa AMBRA *pur corre,*
Nel corso a' venti rapidi non cede;
Le leggier piante sulle spighe porre
Potria, e sosterrieno il gentil piede;
Vedesi OMBRONE *ognor più campo torre,*
La Nympha ad ogni passo manco vede,
Già nel pian largo tanto il corso avanza,
Che di giugnerla perde ogni speranza.

Già pria per li monti aspri, e repenti
Venìa tra sassi con rapido corso,
I passi alti, manco espediti, e lenti,
Faceano a lui sperar qualche soccorso;
Ma giunto, lasso, giù ne' pian patenti,
Fu messo quasi al fiume stanco un morso,
Poi che non può col piè, per la campagna
Col disìo e cogli occhi l' accompagna.

Che debbe far l' innamorato Dio,
Poichè la bella Nympha più non giugne?
Quanto gli è più negata, più desìo
L' innamorato core accende, e pugne;
La Nympha era già presso ove ARNO *mio*
Ricieve OMBRONE, *e l' onde sue congiugne,*
OMBRONE, ARNO *veggiendo, si conforta,*
E surge alquanto la speranza morta.

Grida

Grida da lungi; o ARNO, *a cui rifugge*
La maggior parte di noi fiumi Toschi,
La bella Nympha, che come uccel fugge,
Da me seguita in tanti monti, e boschi,
Sanza alcuna pietate, il cor mi strugge,
Nè par, che amor il duro cor conoschi;
Rendimi lei, e la speranza persa;
E il legier corso suo rompi, e 'ntraversa.

Io sono OMBRON, *che le mie cerule onde*
Per te racoglio, a te tutte le serbo,
E fatte tue diventon sì profonde,
Che sprezzi e ripe, e ponti alto e superbo;
Questa è mia preda, e queste treccie bionde,
Quali in man porto con dolore acerbo,
Ne fan chiar segno; in te mia speme è sola;
Soccorri presto, che la Nympha vola.

ARNO *udendo* OMBRONE, *da pietà mosso,*
Perchè el tempo non bastà a far risposta,
Ritenne l' acqua, e già gonfiato, e grosso,
Da lungi al corso della bell' AMBRA *osta;*
Fu da nuovo timor freddo, e percosso
Il vergin petto, quanto più s' accosta;
Drieto OMBRON *sente, e inanzi vede un lago,*
Nè sa che farsi el cor gelato, et vago.

Come fera cacciata, e poi difesa,
Dei can fuggiendo la bocca bramosa,
Fuor del periglio già, la rete tesa
Veggiendo inanzi agli occhi paurosa,
Quasi già certa d' haver esser presa,
Nè fuggie inanzi, o indrieto tornare osa;
Teme i can, alla rete non si fida,
Non sa che farsi, e spaventata grida.

Tal

Tal della bella Nympha era la sorte,
Da ogni parte da paura oppressa,
Non sa che farsi, se non desiar morte;
Vede l' un fiume, e l' altro, che s' appressa;
E disperata allhor gridava forte:
O casta Dea, a cui io fui concessa
Dal caro padre, e dalla madre antica,
Unica aita all' ultima fatica.

Diana bella, questo petto casto
Non maculò giammai folle disìo,
Guardalo hor tu, perch' io Nympha non basto
A duo nimici, e l' uno e l' altro è Dio;
Col desìo del morir m' è sol rimasto
Al core il casto amor di LAURO *mio;*
Portate, o venti, questa voce estrema
A LAURO *mio, che la mia morte gema.*

Nè eron quasi della bocca fuore
Queste parole, che i candidi piedi
Furno occupati da novel rigore,
Crescierli poi, e farsi un sasso vedi;
Mutar le membra, e 'l bel corpo colore,
Ma pur, che fussi già donna, ancor credi;
Le membra mostron, come suol figura
Bozzata, e non finita in petra dura.

OMBRONE *pel corso faticato, e lasso,*
Per la speranza della cara preda,
Prende nuovo vigore, e strigne il passo,
E par, che quasi in braccio haver la creda;
Crescier veggiendo inanzi agli occhi un sasso,
Ignaro ancor, non sa d' onde proceda;
Ma poi veggiendo vana ogni sua voglia,
Si ferma pien di maraviglia, e doglia.

Come

Come in un parco, cerva, o altra fera,
Ch' è di materia, o picciol muro chiuso,
Soprafatta dai can, campar non spera,
Vicina al muro e per timor là suso
Salta, e si lieva inanzi al can leggiera,
Resta il can dentro, misero e deluso,
Non potendo seguir ove è salita,
Fermasi, e guarda il loco onde è fuggita.

Così lo Dio ferma la veloce orma,
Guarda piatoso il bel sasso crescente;
Il sasso, che ancor serba qualche forma
Di bella Donna, e qualche poco sente;
E come amore e la pietà l' informa,
Di pianto bagna il sasso amaramente;
Dicendo: o AMBRA *mia, queste son l' acque,*
Ove bagnar già il bel corpo ti piacque;

Io non harei creduto in dolor tanto,
Che la propria piatà vinta da quella
Della mia Nympha, si fuggissi alquanto,
Per la maggior pietà d' AMBRA *mia bella;*
Questa, non già mia, move in me il pianto:
E' pur la vita trista, e meschinella,
Anchorchè eterna; quando meco penso
E' peggio in me; che in lei non haver senso.

Lasso, ne' monti miei paterni eccelsi
Son tante Nymphe, e sicura è ciascuna,
Fra mille belle la più bella scelsi,
Non so come; et amando sol quest' una,
Primo segno d' amore, i crini svelsi;
Et cacciala dell' acqua fresca e bruna,
Tenera, e nuda; e poi, fuggiendo esangue,
Tinse le spine e i sassi il sacro sangue.

Et

Et finalmente in un sasso converſa,
Per colpa ſol del mio crudel diſìo:
Non ſo, non ſendo mia, come l' ho perſa,
Nè posso perder questo viver rio;
In questo è troppo la mia sorte avversa,
Misero essendo et immortale Dio;
Che s'io potessi pur almen morire,
Potrìa el giusto immortal dolor finire.

Io ho imparato come si compiaccia
A Donna amata, et il suo amor guadagni;
Che a quella che più ami, più dispiaccia.
O Borea algente, che gelato stagni,
L' acqua corrente fa s'induri, e ghiaccia,
Che petrafatta la Nympha accompagni;
Nè Sol giammai co' raggi chiari e gialli
Risolva in acqua i rigidi cristalli.

LA CACCIA COL FALCONE.

ERA già rosso tutto l' oriente,
E le cime de' monti parien d' oro;
La passeretta schiamazzar si sente;
El contadin tornava al suo lavoro;
Le stelle eron fugite, e già presente
Si vedea quasi quel, ch' amò l' alloro;
Ritornavansi al bosco molto in fretta
L' alocho, el barbagianni, e la civetta.

La volpe ritornava alla sua tana;
El lupo ritornava al suo diserto,
Era venuta e sparita Diana,
Però egli sarìa suto scoperto:
Havea già la sollecita villana
Alle pecore, e i porci l' uscio aperto;
Netta era l' aria, fresca, e cristallina,
Et aspettar buon dì per la mattina.

Quando fui desto da certi romari
Di buon sonagli, et allettar di cani:
Hor su andianne presto, ucellatori,
Perchè gli è tardi, e i luoghi son lontani:
El canattier sia 'l primo ch' esca fuori;
Almen che sian de' cavalli stamani;
Non ci guastassi di can qualche paio;
Deh vanne innanzi presto, capellaio.

Adunque il capellaio nanzi camina,
Chiama Tamburo, Pezuolo, e Martello,
La Foglia, la Castagna, e la Guerrina,
Fagiano, Fagianin, Roca, e Capello,
E Friza, e Biondo, Bamboscio, e Rosina,
Ghiotto, la Torta, Viola, e Pestello,
E Serchio, e Fuse, e 'l mio Buontempo vecchio,
Zambraco, Buratel, Scaccio, e Penecchio.

Quando hanno i can di campo prese un pezza,
Quattro segugi van con quattro sparvieri;
GUGLIELMO, *che per suo antico vezzo*
Sempre quest' arte ha fatto volontieri;
GIOVANNI FRANCO, *e* DIONIGI *il sezzo,*
Che innanzi a lui cavalca il FOGLIA AMIERI;
Ma perchè era buon' ora la mattina,
Mentre cavalca DIONIGI *inchina.*

Ma la fortuna, che ha sempre piacere
Di far diventar brun quel, ch' è più bianco,
Dormendo DIONIGI *fa cadere*
Appunto per disgrazia al lato manto;
Sì che cadendo adosso allo sparviere,
Ruppegli un' ala, e macinnolli il fianco,
Questo li piacque assai, benchè nol dica,
Che gli par esser fuor di gran fatica.

Non cade DIONIGI, *ma rovina,*
E come debbi creder toccò fondo,
Che com un tratto egli ha preso la china,
Presto la truova com un sasso tondo;
Disse fra se meglio era stamattina
Restar nel letto, come fe GISMONDO,
Scalza, e in camiscia sulle pocce al frèsco;
Non c' inciampo mai più, se di quest' esco.

Io ho avuto pur poco intelletto
A uscire staman sì tosto fuori,
Se mi restavo in casa nel mio letto,
Per me meglio era, e per li uccellatori;
Messo harei 'l disinar bene in assetto,
E la tovaglia adorna di bei fiori;
Meglio è stracar la coltrice, e 'l guanciale,
Che il cavallo, e 'l famiglio, e farsi male.

Intanto vuol lo sparviere impugnare,
Ma gli è sì rotto, che non può far l' erta;
DIONIGI *con la man l' osa pigliare,*
E pur ricade, e di questo s' accerta,
Che d' altro li bisogna procacciare;
Nel rassettargli la manica aperta
Le man ghermilli, e lui sotto se 'l caccia,
Saltolli adosso, e fenne una cofaccia.

Dov' è 'l CORONA ? *ov' è* GIOVAN SIMONE ?
Dimanda, BRACCIO, *ov' è quel del gran naso?*
BRACCIO *rispose; a me varie cagione*
Fatto han ch' ognun di loro sia rimaso;
Non prese mai il CORONA *uno starnone,*
Se per disgrazia non l' ha preso, e a caso;
Se s' è lasciato adunque non s' ingiuria:
Menarlo seco è cattiva auguria.

LUIGI PULCI *ov' è, che non si sente?*
Egli se n'andò dianzi in quel boschetto,
Che qualche fantasìa ha per la mente,
Vorrà fantasticar forse un sonetto;
Guarti CORONA, *che se non si pente,*
E' barbottò staman molto nel letto,
E sentii ricordarli te CORONA,
Et a cacciarti in frottola, o in canzona.

GIOVAN SIMONE *ha già preso la piega*
D' andarne, senza dire alli altri addio;
Senza licenzia n' è ito a bottega,
Di che gran sete tiene, e gran desìo;
LUIGI *quando il fiero naso piega,*
Cani, e cavalli adombra, e fa restio;
Per questo ognun che resti si contenta,
Ciò che lo vede fuggie, e si spaventa.

Restono adunque tre da uccellare,
E drieto a questi andava molta gente;
Chi per piacere, chi pur per guardare;
BARTOLO, *et* ULIVIER, BRACCIO *e il* PATENTE,
Che mai non vidde più starne volare;
Et io con lor mi missi parimente,
PIETRO ALAMANNI, *e il* PONTINAR GIOVANNI
Che pare in sulla nona un barbagianni.

STROZZO *drieto a costor, come maestro*
Di questa gente, andava scosto un poco;
Come quello che v' era molto destro,
E molte volte ha fatto simil gioco;
E tanto cavalcamo pel silvestro,
Che finalmente fumo giunti al loco
Più bel, che mai vedesse creatura:
Per uccellar l' ha fatto la natura.

E si vedea una gentil valletta,
Un fossatel con certe macchie in mezzo,
Da ogni parte rimunita, e netta,
Sol nel fossato star possono al rezzo;
Era da ogni lato una piaggetta,
Che d' uccellar facea venir riprezzo
A chi non avessi occhi, tanto è bella;
El mondo non ha una pari a quella.

Scaldava il Sole al monte già le spalle,
E 'l resto della valle è ancora ombrosa;
Quando giunta la gente in su quel calle,
Prima a vedere, e disegnar si posa,
E poi si spargon tutti per la valle;
E perchè a punto riesca ogni cosa,
Chi va co' can chi alla guardia, al getto,
Sicome STROZZO *ha ordinato, e detto.*

Era da ogni parte uno sparviere
Alto in buon luogo da poter gittare;
L' altro a capo n' era del canattiere,
E alla brigata lo vorrà scagliare;
Era BARTOLO *al fondo, et* ULIVIERE,
Et alcun altro per poter guardare
A mezza piaggia; e in una bella stoppia,
El cappellaio ai can leva la coppia.

Non altrimenti quando la trombetta
Sente alle mosse il lieve barbaresco,
Parte correndo, o vuò dir, vola in fretta;
Così i cani, che sciolti son di fresco;
E se non pur che 'l canattier gli aletta,
Chiamando alcuni, et a chi squote il pescho,
Sarebbe il seguitarli troppa pena;
Pur la pertica, e il fischio li rafrena.

Tira buon can, su, tira su, cammina,
Andianne, andianne, torna qui, tè, torna;
Ah sciagurato Tamburo, e Guerrina,
Abiate cura a Serchio, che soggiorna;
Ah bugiardo, ah poltron, volgi Rossina,
Guata buon can, guata brigata adorna;
Tè, Fagiano, o che volta fu mai quella:
In questo modo il canattier favella.

State avveduti, ah Scaccio, frulla, frulla;
E che leva cacciando l' amor mio?
Ma io non veggo però levar nulla,
E n' ha pur voglia, e n' ha pur gran desìo;
Guarda la Torta là che si trastulla,
O che romor faranno, e già 'l sent' io;
Chi salta, e balla, e chi le leverà,
Di questi cani il miglior can serà.

Io veggo che Buontempo è in su la traccia.
Ve' che le corre, e le farà levare,
Habbi cura a Buontempo, che e' le caccia,
Parmi vederle, e sentirle frullare,
Benchè e' sia vecchio assai, non ti dispiaccia,
Ch' io l' ho veduto, e so quel che sa fare,
Io so, che 'l mio Buontempo mai non erra,
Ecco, a te ULIVIER, *guardale a terra.*

Guarda

Guarda quell' altra all' erta, una al fossato,
Non ti diss' io, che mi parea sentire?
Guardane una alla vigna, e l' altr' allato,
Guardane dua da me, guardane mille;
Alla brigata prima havea gittato
GIOVAN FRANCESCO, *et empieva le ville*
Di grida, e di conforti al suo uccello;
Ma per la fretta gittò col cappello.

Ecco GUGLIELMO *a te una ne viene,*
Cava il cappello, et alzerai la mano;
Non istar più GUGLIELMO, *ecco a te, bene;*
GUGLIELMO *getta, e grida, ahi villano!*
Segue la starna, e drieto ben le tiene
Quello sparviere, e in tempo momentano
Dette in aria forse cento braccia;
Poi cadde in terra, e già la pela, e straccia.

Garri a quel can, GUGLIELMO *grida forte,*
Che corre per cavargnene di piè;
E perchè le pertiche erono corte,
Un sasso prese, et a Guerrina diè;
Poi corre giù, sanz' aspettar più scorte,
E quando presso allo sparvier più è,
Non lo veggendo, cheto usava stare,
Per udir se lo sente sonaglare.

E così stando gli venne veduto;
Presto, grida, a caval, la prima è presa;
Lieto a lui vanne destro, et avveduto;
Come colui, che l' arte ha bene intesa;
Preseli il geto, e per quel l' ha tenuto;
Dalli il capo, e 'l cervello, e non li pesa;
Sgermillo, e l' unghia e 'l becco gli havea netto;
Poi rimisse il cappello, e torna a getto.

GIOVAN FRANCESCO *intanto havea ripreso*
Il suo sparviere, e preso miglior loco;
Parli veder, che a lui ne venga teso
Uno starnone, e come presso un poco
Gli fu, egli ha tutte le dita esteso,
E gittò come maestro di tal gioco;
Giunse la starna, e perchè era vecchia,
Si fe lasciare, e tutto lo spennecchia.

In vero egli era un certo sparverugio,
Che somigliava un gheppio, tanto è poco,
Non credo preso havesse un calderugio;
Se non faceva tosto, o in breve loco,
Non havere speranza nello indugio:
Quando e' non piglia, e' si levava a gioco;
E la cagione che quell tratto e' non prese,
Fu, che non vi avea il capo, e non vi attese.

Intanto venne uno starnone all' erta,
Viddelo il FOGLA, *e fece un gentil getto;*
Lo sparvier vola per la piaggia aperta,
E presegnene innanzi al dirimpetto;
Corre giù il FOGLA, *e pargnene haver certa,*
Però che lo sparvier molto è perfetto;
Preselo al netto, ove non era stecco,
E in terra insanguinolli i piedi, e 'l becco.

E questo fe che lo sparviere è soro,
Et intanto ULIVIER *forte gridava;*
Chiama giù il cappellaio, chiama costoro,
Guardate una n' è quì, così parlava,
Tu lega i can, però che basta loro
La Rocca, che di sottera le cava;
Vien giù GUGLIELMO, *non ti star al rezzo,*
E tu, e 'l FOGLA *là mettete in mezzo.*

Così

Così fu fatto, e come sono in punto,
Il canattier dicea, sotto Rocca;
Quì cadde, ve', e se tu 'l harai giunto,
Siesi tuo, corri quì, tè, ponli bocca;
Poi dice, havete voi guardato a punto?
Et in quel lo starnon del fondo scocca;
Ecco a te FOGLA: *e'l* FOGLA *grida, e getta,*
E'l simil fe GUGLIELMO *molto in fretta.*

Lasciò la starna andare lo sparviere,
Et attende a fugir quel, che gli ha drieto;
Disse GUGLIELMO, *tu l' hai,* FOGLA AMIERI;
* * *
Corri tu, che vi se' presso, ULIVIERI,
Diceva il FOGLA, *e* GUGLIELMO *sta cheto;*
Corse ULIVIERI, *e come a loro è sceso,*
Vidde, che l' uno sparviere ha l' altro preso.

Quel del FOGLA *havea preso per la gorga*
Quel di GUGLIELMO, *e crede, che 'l suo sia;*
Perchè a GUGLIELMO *tal parole porga:*
La tua è stata pur gran villania,
Non credo a starne lo sparviere scorga,
Ma a sparvieri; egli è troppa pazzia,
A impacciarsi uccellando con fanciulli;
Questi non son buon giochi, o buon trastulli.

GUGLIELMO *queto sta, e gran fatica*
Dura a tener l' allegrezza coperta;
Pur con humil parole par che dica;
Io non lo viddi, e questa è cosa certa,
E questo più, e più volte riplica;
Intanto il FOGLA *havea già sceso l' erta,*
E come allo sparviere è prossimano,
Quel di GUGLIELMO *è guasto, il suo è sano.*

E getta presto il suo loghero in terra,
Lo sparviere non men presto rispose,
E come a vincitor in quella guerra,
Vezzi li fa, et assai piacevol cose;
Vede intanto GUGLIELMO, *che lui erra,*
E guasto è il suo sparviere, onde rispose
Al FOGLA; *tu se' pur tu il villano,*
Et alzò presto per darli la mano.

Ma come il FOGLA *s' accorse dell' atto,*
Scostossi un poco, acciochè non li dessi;
Disse GUGLIELMO *al* FOGLA, *tu se' matto,*
Se ne credi andar netto; e s' io credessi
Non far vendetta di quel, che m' hai fatto,
Credo m' impiccherei, e s' io havessi
Meco MICHEL DI GIORGIO, *o'l* RANNUCINO,
Attenderesti ad altro, cervellino.

El FOGLA *innanzi alla furia si leva,*
E stassi cheto, et ha pur patienza,
E altro viso, e parole non haveva,
Che quel, ch' aspettando in favor la sentenza,
E poi subitamente la perdeva;
Disse GUGLIELMO; *voglio haver prudenza,*
Terrolla a mente insino all' hore extreme,
E rivedremci qualche volta insieme.

Già il Sole, in verso mezzo giorno cala,
E vien l' ombre stremando, che raccorcia;
Dà loro propartione e brutta e mala,
Come a figura dipinta in iscorcia;
Rinforzava il suo canto la cicala,
E 'l mondo ardeva a guisa d' una torcia;
L' aria sta cheta, et ogni fronde salda
Nella stagion più dispettosa, e calda.

Quando

Quando il mio DIONIGI *tutto rosso,*
Sudando, come fassi un uovo fresco;
Disse, star più con voi certo non posso,
Deh vientene almen tu GIOVAN FRANCESCO;
Ma venitene tutti per ir grosso;
Troppo sarebbe fiero barbaresco,
Chi volessi hor, quando la terra è accesa,
Aspettar più per pascersi di presa:

E detto questo, diè volta al cavallo,
Senza aspettar GIOVAN FRANCESCO *ancora;*
Ciascun si mette presto a seguitallo,
Che 'l sole tutti consuma, e divora;
El cappellaio vien drieto, e seguitallo
I bracchi, ansando con la lingua fora;
Quanto più vanno, il caldo più raddoppia;
Pare appicciato il foco in ogni stoppia.

Tornonsi a casa chi tristo, e chi lieto,
E chi ha pieno il carnaiuol di starne;
Alcun si sta senza, et è tristo e cheto,
E bisogna procacci d' altra carne;
GUGLIELMO *viene dispettoso adrieto,*
Nè può di tanta guerra pace farne;
GIOVAN FRANCESCO *già non se ne cura;*
Che uccella per piacere, e per natura.

E giunti a casa, riponeva il cuoio,
E i can governa, e mette nella stalla
Il canattier; poi all' infrescatoio
Rinovasi ognun co' bicchieri a galla;
Quivi si fa un altro uccellatoio,
Quivi le starne alcun non lascia, o falla;
Pare trebbiano il vin, sendo cercone,
Sì fa la voglia le vivande buone.

El primo assalto fu sanza romore,
Ognuno attende a menar la mascella;
Ma poi, passato un po' il primo furore,
Chi d' una cosa, chi d' altra favella;
Ciascuno al suo sparvier dava l'honore,
Cercando d' una scusa pronta, e bella;
E chi molto non sa con lo sparviere,
Si sforza hor quì col ragionare, e bere.

Ogni cosa guastava la quistione
Del FOGLA *con* GUGLIELMO, *onde si leva*
Su DIONIGI *con buona intentione,*
E in questo modo a GUGLIELMO *diceva:*
Vuoci tu tor tanta consolatione?
E benchè il caso stran pur ti pareva,
Fa che tu sia com son io discreto,
Che averai il mio sparviere, e statti cheto.

Queste parole, e questo dolce stile,
Perchè GUGLIELMO *l' ama, assai li piace;*
E perchè gli era pur di cor gentile,
Deliberò col FOGLA *far la pace;*
Onde li disse con parole humile,
Star più teco non voglio in contumace,
E voglio in pace tutto sofferire;
Fatto questo ciascun vanne a dormire.

E quel che si sognassi per la notte,
Quello sarebbe bello a poter dire;
Ch' io so, ch' ognun rimetterà le dotte,
Insino a terza vorranno dormire;
Poi ce n' andremo insieme a quelle grotte,
E qualche lasca farem fuora uscire.
E così passo, compar, lieto il tempo,
Con mille rime in zucchero, et a tempo.

ELEGIA.

VINTO dalli amorosi empj martirj,
Più volte ho già la mano a scriver porta,
Come il cor viva in pianti, et in sospiri,
Donna, per farti del mio stato accorta;
Ma poi, temendo non l' harressi a sdegno,
Ho dal primo pensier la man distorta.
Così mentre che dentro il foco al legno
E stato acceso, hora il disio m' ha spinto,
Hor m' ha paura ritenuto al segno:
Ma più celar non puossi; et già depinto
Porto el mio mal nella pallida faccia,
Come chi da mal lungo è stanco, e vinto.
El cor dentro avvampa hor, di fuor tutto aghiaccia;
Onde convien, che a maggior forza io ceda—

* * *

Speme, soverchia amar, mia fedeltate
Questo laccio amoroso hanno al cor stretto,
Et furato lor dolce libertate.
Ben veggio il perso ben, ma perch' io aspetto
Trovar, donna gentile, in te merzede
Fa, che di ben seguirti ho gran diletto;

Che

Che s' egli è ver quel ch' altri dice, o crede,
Che persa è beltà in donna sanza amore;
Te ingiuriar non vorrei, e la mia fede:
Perchè non cerco alcun tuo disonore,
Ma sol la grazia tua, e che ti piacci,
Che 'l mio albergo sia dentro al tuo core,
Mostron pur que' belli occhi, e' non ti spiacci
El mio servire; e così amor mi guida
Ognor più dentro ne' tenaci lacci;
Nè resterà giammai finchè me occida,
Donna, se tua pietà non mi soccorre,
Che morte hor mi minaccia, et hor mi sfida:
Ahi, folle mio pensier, che sì alto porre
Vuolse l' effetto; ma se a te m' inchina,
Madonna, il cielo, hor me li posso opporre?
Così mi truovo in ardente fucina
D' amore, et ardo, e son d' arder contento,
Nè cierco al mio mal grave medicina,
Se non quando mancar li spirti sento;
Albor ritorno al veder li occhi belli;
Così in parte s' acqueta el mio tormento.
Talchè se pur talvolta veder quelli
Potessi, o in braccio haverti, o pure alquanto
Tener le man ne' crispi tua capelli,
Manchetian i sospir, l' angoscia, el pianto,
Et quel dolore in che la mente è involta,
E in cambio a quel saria dolcezza, e canto.
Ma tu dalli amorosi lacci sciolta,
Crudel, non curi di mie pene albora,
Anzi gli occhi mi ascondi, altrove volta.
Li occhi tuo belli, lasso, ove dimora
Il pharetrato Amor ver me protervo,
Ove suo dardi arruota, ove gl' indora.

Et così il mio dolor non disacerbo,
Ma resto quasi un corpo semiviuo,
Con più grave tormento, et più acerbo.
Ma fa quel vuoi di me per fin ch' i' viuo,
Io t' amerò, poichè al ciel così piace;
Così ti giuro, et di mia man ti scriuo.
Nè gesti, o sguardi, o parola fallace
D' altra non creder dal tuo amor mi svella,
Ch' al fine i' spero in te pur trovar pace.
Solo a te pensa l' alma, et sol favella
Di te la lingua, e il cor te sol vorrebbe,
Nè altra donna agli occhi mia par bella.
Tanto amor, tanta fe certo dovrebbe
Haver mossa a pietà una Sirena,
Et liquefatto un cor di pietra harebbe.
Nata non se' di Tigre, o di Leena,
Nè preso il latte nella selva Ircana,
O dove il ghiaccio el veloce Istro affrena.
Onde se quella speme non è vana,
Che mi dan gli occhi tua, li occhi che ferno
La piaga nel mio cor, ch' ancor non sana,
Non vorrai, Amor, di me più scherno.
*Così ti prego * * * *
Tua pietà faccia il nostro amor eterno.
Venga, se dee venir, tuo aiuto quando
Giovar mi possa, et non tardi tra via,
Che nuoce spesso a chi ben vive amando.
Ma, lasso, hor quel mi duole è, ch' io vorria,
Il volto, e i gesti, e il pianto ch' el cor preme,
Accompagnassin questi versi mia;
Ma s' egli avvien, che soletti ambo insieme,
Posso il braccio tenerti al colla avvolto,
Vedrai come d' amore alto arde, e geme.

Vedrai cader dal mio pallido volto
Nel tuo candido sen lacrime tante,
*Da' mia ardenti sospiri * * * molte.*
E se la lingua pavida, e tremante
Non ti potrà del cor lo affetto aprire,
Come intervien sovente al fido amante,
*Dagli baldanza * * * dire,*
Quando gran fiamma in gentil cor accenda
Lo amor, la speme del fedel servire,
Chi sia che tanta cortesia riprenda?
Anzi, perchè mal puossi amor celare,
Che altri dal volto, o gesti nol comprenda,
Sovente io mi odo drieto susurrare,
Quanto è dal primier suo esser mutato
Questo meschin, per crudel donna amare.
Non rispondo, anzi vergognoso guato
A terra, come chi talvolta intende
Quel, che a ciascun credea esser celato.
La tua impietà te stessa, et me riprende,
Che non bene tua bellezza accompagna,
Et al mio bon servir mal cambio rende.
Nè perciò mai il cor di te si lagna,
Nè si dorrà sino allo extremo punto,
Ma ben vorrebbe, e perciò il volto bagna.
Teco l' avessi il ciel, donna, congiunto;
In matrimonio: ah, che pria non venisti
Al mondo, o io non son più tardo giunto?
Che gli occhi, co' quai pria tu il core apristi,
Ben mille volte harei baciato il giorno,
Scacciando i van sospiri, e i pensier tristi.
Ma questo van pensiero a che soggiorno?
Se tu pur dianzi, et io fui un tempo avanti
Dal laccio coniugal legato intorno,

*Qual sol morte convien, che scioglia * * *
Puoi ben volendo, e te ne prego, e stringo,
Ch' un cor, un sol voler sia tra due amanti.
Ben t' accorgi, Madonna, che non fingo
Pianti, sospiri, o le parole ardente;
Ma come Amor la detta, io la dipingo.
Occhi belli, anzi stelle luciente,
O parole soavi, accorte, e sagge,
Man decor, che toccar vorrei sovente,
Amor è quel, che a voi pregar mi tragge,
Non sia, Madonna, il mio servire invano,
Nè in van la mia speranza in terra cagge.
Tu hai la vita, e la mia morte in mano,
Vivo contento, s' io ti parlo un poco,
Se non, morte me ancide a mano a mano.
Fa almen, s' io moro, dell' extremo foco
Le mia ossa infelice sieno extorte,
E poste in qualche abietto, e picciol loco.
Non vi sia scritto chi della mia morte
Fussi cagion, che ti saría gravezza;
Basta l' urna di fuor stampata porte,
" Troppo in lui amor, troppo in altrui durezza."*

AMORI DI VENERE, E MARTE.

VENERE PARLA.

SU Nymphe ornate il glorioso monte—
Di canti, e balli, e resonanti lire;
Fate di fior grillande alme alla fronte,
Che mi par Marte amico mio sentire;
E dalla plaga lattea su nel cielo
Visto ho la stella sua lieta apparire.
Spargete all' aura i crini avvolti in velo,
E liete tutte nel fonte Acidalio
Gratiose vi lavate il volto, e il pelo.
Le sacre Muse dal liquor Castalio
Di dolci carmi piene inviterete;
Stendete drappi, ornate il ciel col palio.
Bacco, e Sileno mio liete accogliete,
E se Cerer non è sdegnata ancora
Per Proserpina sua, ~~la chiamerete~~.
Va, Climen nympha mia, dall' Aurora,
Digli, che indugi alquanto il bel mattino,
Lieta col suo Titon facci dimora.
Tu Clytia andrai nel bel monte Pachino,
Tu nel Peloro, e tu nel Lilibeo,
Guardate di Sicilia ogni confino,

Sì, che Vulcano mio fabro Phetea
Con Marte non mi trovi in adulterio,
Donde fabula sia poi d' ogni Deo.
Ascondi Luna il lucido emisperio;
Voi per le selve non latrate, o cani,
Sicchè d' infamia non si scuopri il vero.
Vien lieta notte, e voi profundi Mani
Scurate l' ora, o tu figliuol Cupido,
Mi do nelle tue braccia, in le tue mani.
Con le tue fiamme dolce ardente rido,
Fa lume a Marte, mio sposo, et signore,
Tu me feristi, Amor, di te me fido.
Marte, se oscure ancor ti paron l' ore,
Vienne al mio dolce ospizio, ch' io t' aspetto;
Vulcan non v' è, che ci disturbi amore.
Vien, ch' io t' invito nuda in mezo il letto,
Non indugiar, ch' el tempo passa, e vola,
Coperto m' ho di fior vermigli il petto.
Vienne Marte, vien via, vien ch' io son sola;
Togliete e lumi, el mio mai non lo spengo;
Non sia chi più mi parli una parola.

MARTE PARLA.

Non qual nimico alle tue stanze vengo,
Vener mia bella, ma sanz' arme, o dardo,
Che contro ai colpi tua null' arme tengo.
Altra cosa è vedere un grato sguardo
D' un amoroso lume, ovunque e' vada,
Che spada, o lancia, o vessillo, a stendardo.
" Amor regge suo impero sanza spada;"
Coperto no, ma vuole il corpo nudo,
Dolce contento a seguir ciò che aggrada;

Odir parlar, non dispietato, e crudo,
Ma dolce in se, qual di piatà s' accolga;
E questa l' arme sia, la lancia, e 'l scudo.
Intorno al col suo bianca treccia avvolga,
Delli ardenti amator dura catena,
E forte laccio, che giammai si sciolga.
Baciar la bocca, e la fronte serena,
E dua celesti lumi, e 'l bianco petto,
La lunga man d' ogni bellezza piena.
Altra cosa è giacer nell' aureo letto
Con la sua dolce amica, et cantar carmi,
Che affaticar il corpo al scudo, e elmetto.
Gustar quel frutto, che può lieto farmi,
Ultimo fin d' un tremante diletto;
Tempo è d' amor, tempo è da spada, et armi.

APOLLO PARLA.

Ingiuria è grande al letto romper fede;
Non sia chi pecchi, e dì', chi 'l saprà mai?
Che 'l sol, le stelle, el ciel, la luna il vede.
E tu che lieta col tuo Marte stai,
Nè pensi, il ciel di tua colpa dispone;
Così spesso un gran gaudio torna in guai.
Ogni lungo secreto ha sua stagione;
Chi troppo va tentando la fortuna,
Se allide in qualche scoglio, è ben ragione.
Correte, o Nymphe, a veder sol quest' una
Adulterata Venere impudica,
E 'l traditor di Marte; o stelle! o luna!
Giove, se non ti par troppa fatica,
Con Giunon tua gelosa, al furto viene;
Non pecchi alcun, se non vuol che si dica.

Vieni

Vieni a veder, Mercurio, le catene,
Che tu riporti in ciel di quest' e quella;
Che nul peccato mai fu senza pene.
Pluto, se inteso hai ancor questa novella,
Con Proserpina tua lassa l' inferno;
Ascendi all' aura relucente et bella.
Alme, che ornate il bel paese eterno
De' campi Elysi, al gran furto venite;
Convien si scuopra ogni secreto interno.
Glauco, Neptuno, Dori, Alpheo correte
Al tristo incesto, et Ino, et Melicerta,
Con le Driade, e 'l gran padre d' Amphytrite.
Acciò cho in terra, in mare, et in ciel sie certa
Infamia tal d' una malvagia et rea,
Et grave strupo, e inhonestate aperta.
Vulcan, vieni a veder tua Cytherea,
Come con Marte suo lieta si posa,
Et rotta t' ha la fede, et fatta rea.
Debbe al consortio tuo esser piatosa,
Ad altri no; ma gl' è fatica grave
Posser guardare una donna amorosa.
Che se la vuol, non fia chi mai la cave;
Tu dormi forse, ma se 'l mio sono hai inteso,
Vieni a veder di lei l' opere prave.
Lascia Sicilia, e 'l tuo stato sospeso;
Che patir tanta ingiuria honora te poco,
Vendetta brama Dio d' un core offeso.

VULCANO PARLA.

Non basta havermi il ciel dall' alto loco
Gittato in terra, et da sua mensa privo,
Et fatto fabro, et Dio del caldo foco;

Che

Che per più pena mia ciaschedun Divo
Cierchi straziarmi, et dimostrar lor prove;
Ma tanta ingiuria mai non la prescriva.
Io pur attendo a far saette a Giove,
Sudando intorno all' antica fucina,
Et Marte gode mie fatiche altrove.
Venere, Vener mia, spuma marina,
Tu Marte adulter, pena pagherete,
Che grave colpa vuol gran disciplina.

* * *

LA CONFESSIONE.

DONNE, et fanciulle, io mi fo conscienzia
D' ogni mie fallo, e vo' far penitenzia.
Io mi confesso ad voi primieramente,
Ch' io sono stato al piacer negligente;
Et molte cose ho lasciato pendente;
Di questo primo i' mi fo conscienza.
Io havea lungo tempo disiato
A una gentil donna haver parlato,
Poi in sua presentia fui ammutolato;
Di questo ancora i' mi fo conscienza.
Già in un altro loco mi trovai,
Et un bel tratto per viltà lasciai;
E non ritornò poi quel tratto mai:
Di questo ancora i' mi fo conscienza.
Ah, quante volte io me ne son pentito!
Presi una volta un più tristo partito,
Ch' io pagai innanzi, e poi non fui servito:
Di questo ancora i' mi fo conscienza.

Io mi ricordo ancor d' altri peccati;
Che, per ir drieto a parole di frati,
Molti dolci piaceri ho già lasciati:
Di questo ancora i' mi fo conscienza.
Dolgomi ancor, che non ho conosciuto
La giovenezza, e 'l bel tempo che ho avuto,
Se non hor, quando egli è in tutto perduto;
Di questo ancora i' mi fo conscienza.
Dico mia colpa, et ho molto dolore
Di viltà, negligentia, et d' ogni errore:
Ricordi, o non ricordi, innanzi Amore
Generalmente io ne fo conscienza.
Et prego tutti voi, che vi guardiate,
Che simili peccati non facciate;
Acciò che vecchie non ve ne pentiate,
Et in van poi ne facciate conscienza.

LE SETTE ALLEGREZZE D' AMORE.

DEH state a udire giovane et donzelle
Queste sette allegrezze, ch' io vo' dire,
Devotamente, che son dolce, e belle,
Che amore a chi lo serve fa sentire;
Io dico a tutte quante, et primo a quelle,
Che son vaghe et gentile, e in sul fiorire;
Gùstate ben queste allegrezze sante,
Che amor ve ne contenti tutte quante.

Prima Allegrezza, che conciede amore
Si è mirar dua piatosi occhi fiso,

Esciene

Esciene un vago, bel, dolce splendore;
Veder mover la bocca un dolce riso,
Le man, la gola, e modi pien d' honore,
L' andar, ch' uscita par del paradiso;
Ogni atto, e movimento, che si faccia,
Et così prima un cor gentil s' allaccia.

La seconda allegrezza, che amor dona,
E, quando ho gratia di toccar la mano
Accortamente, ove si balla, o suona,
O in altro modo stringnerla pian piano;
Et mentrechè si giuoca, o si ragiona,
Gittar certe parole, et non in vano;
Toccare alquanto, et stringner sopra a' panni
In modo, che chi è intorno, se ne inganni.

Terza allegrezza, qual Amor conciede,
E quando ella una tua lettera accetta,
E degna di rispondere, e far fede
Di propria man, che el collo al giogo metta;
Bene è duro colui, che, quando vede
Sì dolce pegno, lacrime non getta;
Leggiela cento volte, e non si satia,
Et con dolci sospiri amor ringratia.

Più dolce assai quest' allegrezza quarta,
Se ti conduci a dir qualche parole
A solo a solo, a far del tuo cor carta,
Et dire a boccha ben dove ti duole;
Se advien, che amor le some ben comparta,
Senti dir cose da fermare el sole:
Dolci pianti, et sospiri, et maladire
Usci, et finestre, che ti può impedire.

Chi può gustar questa quinta allegrezza
Può dir, che amor, e il suo servitio piaccia,
Se advien, che baci con gran tenerezza
Un' amorosa, vaga, e gentil faccia,
Le labra, et dentro ov' è tanta dolcezza,
La gola, el petto, et le candide braccia,
Et tutte l' altre membre dolce, et vaghe,
Lasciando spesso e segni delle piaghe.

Questa sesta allegrezza, ch' io dico hora,
E il venir quasi alla conclusion;
Et a quel fin, perchè ogni huom s' innamora,
Et si sopporta ogni aspra passione;
Chi l' ha provato, et chi lo prova ancora,
Sa che dolcezza, et che consolatione
E quella, di poter senza sospetto
Tenere il suo signore in braccio stretto.

Vien drieto a questa l' ultima allegrezza;
Che amore in fin pur contentar ci vuole:
Non si può dir con quanta gentilezza,
Con che dolci sospir, con che parole,
Si perviene a questa ultima allegrezza,
Come si piange dolcemente, e duole;
Fassi certi atti albor, chi non vuol fingere,
Ch' un dipintore non sapre' dipingere.

Queste sono allegrezze, che Amor dà,
O donne, a chi lo serve fedelmente,
Però gustile, e provile chi ha
Bellezza, et gentilezza, età florente,
Che perder tempo duole a chi più sa;
Queste allegrezze, ch' io ho detto al presente,
Chi le dice, et prova con divotione,
Non può morire senza extrema unctione.

Questo povero Cieco, quale ha detto
Queste allegrezze, a voi si racomanda,
Amor l' ha cosi concio el poveretto,
Come vedete, et cieco attorno il manda,
Vorrebbe qualche carità in effetto,
Almen la gratia vostra v' addimanda;
Fategli qualche ben, donne amorose,
Che gustar possa delle vostre cose.

El poveretto è già condotto a tale,
Che non ha con chi fare el Carnasciale.

CANZONE.

PRENDA piatà ciascun della mia doglia,
Giovane, et donne, et sia chiunche si voglia.

Sempre servito io ho con pura fede
Una, la qual credea fussi pietosa,
Et che dovessi haver di me merzede,
Et non, come era, fussi disdegnosa;
Hor m' ho perduto il tempo, et ogni cosa,
Che si rivolta, come al vento foglia.

O lasso a me! ch' io non credetti mai,
Che sua occhi leggiadri, e rilucenti
Fussin cagione a me di tanti guai,
Di tanti pianti, et di tanti lamenti;
Ah crudo amore, hor come gliel consenti?
Di tanta crudeltà suo core spoglia.

O lasso

O lasso a me, questo non è quel merto,
Ch' io aspettava di mia fede intera,
Questo non è quel, che mi fu offerto;
Questo ne' patti nostri, Amor, non era;
Folle è colui, che in tua promessa spera,
E sotto quella vive in pianti, e in doglia.

Cantato in parte vi ho la doglia mia,
Che vi debba haver mosso haver piatate;
Et quanto afflitta la mia vita sia,
Perchè di me compassione habbiate;
Et prego Amor, che più felice siate,
Et vi contenti d' ogni vostra voglia.

CANZONE.

CON tua promesse, et tua false parole,
Con falsi risi, et con vago sembiante,
Donna, menato hai il tuo fedele amante,
Sanza altro fare; onde m' increscе, et duole.

Io ho perduto drieto a tua bellezza
Già tanti passi per quella speranza,
La quale mi diè tua gran gentilezza,
Et la beltà, che qualunche altra avanza;
Fidomo in lei, et nella mia costanza,
Ma insino a quì non ho, se non parole.

Di tempo in tempo già tenuto m' hai
Tanto, ch' io posso numerar molti anni,

Et aspettavo pur, di tanti guai
Ristorar mi volessi, et tanti affanni;
Et conosco hor, che mi dileggi, et inganni:
La fede mia non vuol da te parole.

Donna, stu m'ami, come già m' hai detto,
Fa, ch' io ne vegga qualche sperantia;
Deh non mi tener più in contanto aspetto,
Che forse non harò più patientia,
Se vuoi usare in verso me clementia,
Non indugiare, et non mi dar parole.

Va canzonetta, et priega el mio Signore,
Che non mi tenga più in dubbio sospeso,
Di, che mi mostri una volta il suo core,
Et se è perduto il tempo, ch' io ho speso,
Come io harò il suo pensiero intese,
Prendo partito, et non vo' più parole.

CANZONE.

IO prego Dio, che tutti i mal parlanti
Facci star sempre in gran dolori, e pianti.

E prego voi, o gentil donne, e belle,
Che non facciate stima di parole,
Però che chi tien conto di novelle,
D' ogni piacer privare al fin si suole;
Honestamente, e liete star si vuole,
Vivere in gioie, et in piaceri, e canti.

Deh lasciam dir chi vorrà pur mal dire,
E non guardiamo al lor tristo parlare;
Allegro si vuol vivere, e morire,
Mentre chè in giovinezza habbiamo a stare;
E chi vorrà di noi mal favellare,
El cor per troppa invidia se gli schianti.

Canzona, truova ciascheduno amante,
E le donne leggiadre, alte, e gentile,
Ricorda lor, che ciascun sia costante
Al suo amore con animo virile;
Perchè il temer parole è cosa vile,
Nè fu usanza mai di veri amanti.

CANZONE.

I' Ho d' amara dolcezza il mio cor pieno,
Come amor vuole, e d' un dolce veneno:

Nessuno è più di me lieto, e contento,
Nessuno merta maggior compassione;
La dolcezza, et dolor, che insieme senzo,
Di rider danni, e sospir cagione;
Non può intender sì dolce passione,
Scusa non fo, chi non ha gentil core.

Amore et honestate, et gentilezza,
A chi mirura ben, sono una cosa:
Per me è perduta in tutto ogni bellezza,
Ch' è posto in donna altera, et disdegnosa:

Chi riprender mi può, s' i' son piatosa,
Quanto honestà comporta, et gentil core?

Riprenderammi chi ha sì dura mente,
Che non conoschi li amorosi rai:
Io prego amore, che chi amor non sente
Nol faccia degno di sentirla mai;
Ma chi l' osserva fedelmente assai,
Ardali sempre col suo foco il core.

Sanza ragion riprendami chi vuole,
Se non ha cor gentil, non ho paura;
Il mio constante amor vane parole
Mosse da invidia, poco stima o cura,
Disposta son, mentre la vita dura,
A seguir sempre sì gentil amore.

SONETTO.

HERMELINO EQUO SUÆ PUELLÆ UTENDUM MISSO.

SE come Giove trasformossi in toro,
Anch' io potessi pigliar tua figura,
Hermellin mio, senza darti tal cura,
Portare vorre' io stesso il mio thesoro.

Non sì da lungi, nè con tal martoro,
Nè pria nell' onde mai con tal paura
Portato harei quell' Angioletta pura,
Che hora m' è donna, et forse poi sia allora.

Ma

Ma poichè così va, Hermellino mio,
Tu solo porterai soave, ei piano
La pretiosa salma, e 'l mio desio;

Guarda non molestar col fren sua mano,
Ubidisci colei, che ubidisch' io,
Poichè sì tosto Amor vuole, che amiano.

SONETTO.

FUGIENDO Loth con la sua famiglia
La città, ch' arse per divin giuditio;
Guardando indrieto, et visto el gran supplitio,
La donna immobil forma di sal piglia.

Tu hai fuggito, et è gran maraviglia,
La città, ch' arde sempre in ogni vitio;
Sappi anima gentil, che 'l tuo offitio
E non voltare a lei giammai le ciglia.

Per ritrovarti il buon pastore eterno
Lascia el greggie, o smarrita pecorella,
Truovati, e lieto in braccio ti riporta.

Perse Euridice Orfeo già in sulla porta,
Libera quasi, per voltarsi a quella;
Però non ti voltar più allo inferno.

SONETTO.

SEGUI, Anima divota, quel fervore,
Che la bontà divina al petto spira,
Et dove dolcemente chiama, et tira
La voce, o pecorella, del pastore:

In questo nuovo tuo divoto ardore
Non sospetti, non sdegni, invidia, o ira,
Speranza certa al sommo bene aspira,
Pace, et dolcezza, et fama in suave odore.

Se pianti, o sospir semini talvolta
In questa santa tua felice insania,
Dolce, et eterna poi la ricolta.

" Populi meditati sunt inania"
Lasciali dire, et siedi, et Cristo ascolta,
O nuova cittadina di Bettania.

IL FINE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

N° XLIII.

Federicus Dux Urbini.

Laurentio Medici de Florentia.

MAGNIFICE frater carissime. Per la copia de una io scrivo allo illustrissimo Duca di Ferrara, la quale io mando alli Signori Otto della Balia, la vostra Magnificentia vedrà lo aviso ho havuto della perdita della Roccha di Melara, & lo pensero de li inimici, che è de unire l' armata loro de acqua cum questi di sopra, & unitamente poi cum lo favore del curso del fiume andarsene ad Ferrara; & non è dubio, che non si facendo dala Serenissima Lega celere & potentissima provvisione in qualche parte, li potria reuscire lo pensero, perchè quello Illustrissimo Signore da se non è bastante ad substinere tanto peso, commo la V. M. intende per se medesimo. N° XLIII.

Lo remedio, che mi occurre a tanto eminentissimo periculo, si è, che cotesta Excelsa Signoria volando, le mandi quello più numero de fanti li sia possibile, maxime de quelli de Romagna, & de Valle de Lamone, li quali & per la vicinità & per essere homini exercitati verranno più a proposito del bisogno, che de volere fare pensero de mandare altri, & io mandandome lo Illustrissimo Signore Duca di Milano quella gente da pede & da cavallo li ho scripto, descenderò nel Ferrarese per fare tenere la briglia in mano alli inimici, & quando per la Serenissima Lega se facciano quelle provisione li è necessario

Nº XLIII. necessario & per lo honore & per lo utile, & per modo, che io possa stare a fronte delli inimici, me basta lo animo farli intendere, che da fare uno pensiero ad mandarlo ad effetto ci è grandissima differenza. Non me curo essere più longo cum la Vostra Magnificentia, perchè so certo che per sua prudentia intendendo quanto questa cosa sia importante, cum omne diligentia operà per le necessarie provisione.

Ricordo alla Vostra Magnificentia sollecite lo mandare li fanti ragionati in le terre del Sig. Constantio & mie; & questo pure se vol fare cum omne celerità, perchè io ho dato ordine, che li miei homini d'arme se ne vengono ad trovarme, che non ce restando ditti fanti, non se porriano movere perchè el non seria secura cosa de spogliare le terre del prefato Sig. Constantio, & mie, non ce restando gente da posserle defendere in omne caso.

Seria de parere, che lo Sig. Constantio preditto se ritirasse in Toscana & cum la persona, & cum la gente, & che li fossero deputate le stantie in quello di Rezo & in Angira, la quale cosa vene allo proposito della securtà dello stato de cotesta Excelsa Signoria, del suo & mio, & minacciare li inimici per tutto, & porria essere che la fortuna porgesse tale occasione, che saria stato optima provisione de avere preso simile partito; però recordo alla Magnificentia Vostra opere, che senza mettere dilatione de uno actimo de tempo se li ordini venga ad lo dicto loco: & io in questo ponto per una mia ho persuasa la Sua Signoria ad ciò. Ex Revere 4. Maii 1482.

Nº XLIV.

Guidantonio Vespucci.

Laurentio Medici.

Nº XLIV. MAGNIFICE vir. Se l'avviso mio della creatione del Pontefice fu tardetto, ne fu causa, perchè Antonio Tornabuoni spacciò sanza aspettarmi, perchè ero in luogo udivo messa con gli altri Oratori, & non potevo uscire si tardi: la staffetta di Milano fu spacciata per Francesco da Casale & non per l'Oratore; habbiatemi per scusato.

Di

Di questo Pontifice vi dirò quanto ne intendo. La natura sua, quando era Cardinale, era molto humana & benigna, & a ciaschuno faceva carezze assai, & baciava qualunche più che chi voi sapete: è non molto di sperienza delli Stati, di non molta letteratura, ma pur non è in tutto ignorante; era tutto di S. Pier in Vincula, & lui lo fece far Cardinale: pieno in viso & assai grande, di età di circha 55. anni, assai robusto, ha uno fratello, ha figliuoli grandi bastardi, credo almeno uno, & figliuole femmine maritate qui: Cardinale non andava bene col Conte: San Pier in Vincula si può dir esser Papa, & più potrà, che con Papa Sisto, se se lo saprà mantenere: ha uno Fratre Genuese, che si dice ha donna, naturalmente Guelfo, & è della casa Zibo: ha quì uno nipote Prete & parente di Filippo di Nerone, che ha per donna una Maria Clemenza che fu moglie di Stoldo Altoviti. El Capitano vecchio de' fanti ha per donna una sua parente. Essi monstrato huomo più per esser consigliato, che consigliare altri. N° XLIV.

La electione sua è stata in questa forma, che li Reverendissimi Monsignori di Ragona e de' Visconti veduto non poter fare el Vicecancelliere, & veduto el Vicecancelliere cerchava far guardia, s' ingegnorono tirar quì el Vicecancelliere, & fare el facto loro, & ante omnia accordarono il Camarlingo & Ursino con San Pier in Vincula, e quali vi cominciarono ad inclinare, & parmi assicurassino con promesse le cose del Conte & del Camarlingo, & a molti habbino satisfacto di cose prima al Cardinale di Ragona la casa sua, a Messer de' Visconti la Casa del Conte, la qual se paga al Conte per Sua Beatitudine, & tanto che ascende ultra alla casa a dodici mila ducati, & la Legatione del Patrimonio, & ne arà non so che a Castello, al Savello la Legatione di Bologna, a Milano la Legatione di Vignone, le quali tutte ultime Legationi havea S. Pier in Vincula, & a tutto ha consentito per condurre quest' opera, imo ha renunziato ad alcune badie per satisfare ad altri che io non so. Colonna non dubito sarà anchor satisfacto; el Vicecancelliere ancora s' è assicurato di certe sua cose di Spagna. Noara ha havuto non so che Castello: di altri non intendo, ma extimate ce ne assai simile.

Concludovi, che questa electione si dà tutta all' opera di Mons. de Visconti, & parrebbemi gli dovessi scrivere, che havendo io bisogno dell' opera sua nelle faccende vostre, ci vogli ajutare & scrivere una buona lettera a S. Pier in Vincula, perchè del caso di Fonte Dolce non dubito se non di lui, & lui è Papa & plusquam Papa. Et credatis che Monsig. Ragona & Visconti

Nº XLIV. Visconti hanno in ogni electione a mettere a sacco questa Corte, & sono e maggior ribaldi del mondo.

Io attenderò quì fra pochi dì a ressetare le cose vostre, & intendo farlo, perchè in su questi principj e Pontefici sogliono essere gratiosi, & di voi la Santità Sua sente bene & mecho era assai dimestico. Ricordovi innanzi s' entri in nuova pratica el farmi aver licenzia, che vorrei esser costì per tutto Settembre almeno, & vi prego mi vogliate exaudire di farmi el mio Simone degli Otto. Romae die 29. Augusti 1484. Ricordovi el sollecitare la impresa de Serrezzana, innanzi costui pigli piede, perchè poi sarà pericoloso.

Nº XLV.

Laur. de' Med. ad Albinum.

Nº XLV. HAVETE intesa l' offerta mi è stata fatta di stato in quel Regno, quando non donasse li presidj al Sig. Re, &c. & così avete intesa la mia risposta . . . Dogliome che lo Sig. Re non habbia quella reputatione aveva altro tempo de' denari & de gente d' arme, che S. M. era stimata lo Jodice d' Italia; adesso che sia lo contrario, me ne doglio per la servitù che loro ho; pure in nullo caso mancarò a S. M. Dispiacemi fino all' anima, che lo Sig. Duca habbia questo nome di crudele, & falsamente le sia imposto; pur Sua Eccellenza tuttavia se forze toglierlo con ogni arte, che certo li metterà bon conto. Et così se le gabelle se tolerano mal volentieri dalli popoli, levele, via, & torne alli soliti pagamenti, che vale più havere un carlino con piacere & amore, che diece con dispiacere & isdegno, che certamente indurre usanza nova ad ogni popolo pare forte. Florentiae 3. Novemb. 1485.

Anco ricordamo a S. S. che lo partire de' mercatanti da Napoli, quali dicono per sua causa essere partiti, li da mal nome per ogni loco, alli quali se non satisfa el debito, almeno satisfaccia de bone parole, acciò che non se dica quello che non è, & quello che è; però Sua Eccellenza accarezze ogn' uno, come è solita, che li animi delli homini se vincono & obbligano più presto con bone parole, che non severitate, & questo use con ogni maniera de gente, che in fine li metterà bon conto. Che lo S. Virginio conduca quanti

quanti Baroni puote in questo de Roma, perchè vole del suo soldarli fin alla suimma de 300. homini d'arme. Una delle principali cose che mi pare necessaria è che Sua Signoria tenga ben contenti tutti i soldati, che mai n'hebbe necessario come hoggi. Ultimamente S. M. stia de buono animo, che in ogni modo serrà victoriosa, che prima questa Signoria delibera perdere lo stato suo, che detta Maestà habia a patire: del resto me remetto alla vostra relatione. N° XLV.

N° XLVI.

Laurentio de' Medici Florentinae.

Rex Siciliae.

MAGNIFICO LORENZO, laudabile cosa è persistere nel consueto bene operare, & satisfare alle obligazioni, &, como se dice, par pari reddere; ma in vero in le amicitie confirmate, & dove se va con una medesima voluntà & disegno, ad nostro judicio se recerca non attendere ad quanto se debia fare, ma ad quello più che sia possibile farse. In le occurrentie di questo inverno ne doleva fino ad l' anima che ad Sarzana se facesse novità, non per comparire, ma perchè non haveriamo possuto comparire justa el desiderio nostro. Turbavane, che eramo eshausti, le cose del regno non reassectate, le pratiche con la Santità de N. S. assai turbide, & che havevamo notitia dell' apperato Turchesco, como de poi se è per tucto inteso; & non de manco al primo adviso & rechesta circa la novità de Serzanello, satisfecimo, & con voluntà & con opera circa la gente d'arme & galere recercate, dolendone imperò cordialmente, che alla rechesta non possevamo adjungere quel che el debito nostro officio, & la promta voluntà recercava, stando tuttavia con attentione, se la fortuna avesse producta alcuna occasione de possere alcun tanto più satisfare ad noi medesimi in queste occurrentie della Repubblica vostra: de che havendo ultimamente da diverse & bone vie l'armata de' Turchi havere ad soprastare per questa stasone & che dall' altro canto Genuesi armavano ad fine de damnificare le marine nostre, per divertere & distrahere le vostre forze dall' obsidione de Serzana, subito senza più differire, rengratiando N. S. Dio, che ne havea offerta comodità, deliberammo mandare ad questa impresa otto altre galere, bene instructe, & lo robore del nostro stolo, colò havimo facto intendere al Mag. Misser Bernardo, N° XLVI.

N° XLVI. Bernardo, & eodem tempore insemi con la deliberatione havimo dato ordine ad la executione, facendo scrivere da nostro figliolo D. Federico, el quale ha cura delle cose de mare & ad Brindisi, & per le marine de Calabria, che dicte octo galere subito subito siano de quà, & tengano la via de Serzana ad giongerse con le altre: nè se persuada la V. Mag. che la mente nostra habbia da firmarse quà, perchè con lo pensero discuteremo se altro per noi fare se poterà, & al pensero adjungeremo l'opera, sequendo lo exemplo della vostra Repubblica, & anco vostro proprio, & havendo sempre avante li occhi quel che se facto in nostro adjuto & favore: & quanto in noi serà facendo tale opere & deportamenti, che li beneficii ricevuti habbino ad restare bene testificati della buona & grata voluntà nostra appresso el populo de Fiorenza, & appresso la V. M. Havemo dunque voluto ultra quel che scrivemo ad li Ex. Sigg. & ad Marino fare nota per propria lettera questa nostra deliberatione ad la V. M., la quale se renda certa che dalle facultà nostre ad le sue proprie & della sua Repubblica, non se ha da fare differentia alcuna, perchè de tucte cose nostre volimo, che la commodità & lo uso sia non manco de' Sigg. Fiorentini & de V. M., che lo nostro; & questa intra noi ha da essere institutione & legge perpetua. Confortamo la M. V. ad attender bene alla sua valetudine. Dat. in Castello Nove Neap. 3. Junii 1487.

N° XLVII.

Magnifico viro Johanni de Lanfredinis.

Oratori Florentino Romae.

Laur. Med.

N° XLVII. INTENDO per la vostra de' dì 13. che N. S. ha preso qualche molestia per la instantia fatta per voi acciocchè non si proceda più oltre in queste citationi. A me rincresce ogni molestia di Sua S. ma molto mi dorebbe, quando accadessi in lei alcuna opinione, che le parole o effetti miei procedessino da alcuna cagione, altra che dal bene di Sua S. la quale potete accertare, che in ogni partito & evento io voglio sopportare come servitore quella medesima fortuna, & questa massima tenga ferma per sempre. Se io hò

 persuaso

persuaso alla S. Sua a temperarsi in queste cose contra il Re, l'ho fatto per le infrascritte ragioni. Come per l' ultima vi scripsi, a me pare necessario, che la S. Sua si proponga uno di questi tre infrascripti fini, cioè o con la forza havere la ragione sua col Re, o veramente accordarsi come si può, o quando pure quello accordo, che si potessi al presente fare, fussi con poco honore, temporeggiare più honorevolmonte che si può, aspettando migliore occasione; la prima conditione saria più honorevole, ma a mio parere è di qualche pericolo & di gran spesa, nè credo che horamai si possa fare senza mettere una nuova Potentia nel Reame: a questo mi pajono necessarie tre cose, cioè, che almeno o Vinitiani o Milano siano d'accordo a questa impresa; la seconda, che questa tale Potentia, che s'introducessi di nuovo, sia per se medesima potente & di gente & di danari; la terza, che per N. S. si faccia ogni estrema potentia senza perdonare a spesa o a cosa alcuna per ottenere la impresa, & è necessario che tra quello che può il Papa, & quello che può questo tale, che s'introducessi, e vi sia maggiore potentia, che non è quella del Re sola, presupponendo che se Vinetia adherissi a questa dispositione, havessi a fare questo effetto di tenere Milano, che non socorressi il Re. Chi havessi intelligentia co' Baroni del Re, o altri simili adminiculi, tanto meglio si poteria fare. Hora a questa prima parte io potria ingannarmi, quando la ho dissuasa a N. S., perchè non veggio di queste conditioni tanto che mi paja ad sufficentia, che forse ne è cagione il non sapere io tutti i secreti di questa cosa: per quello che io vegga o intenda non ci è ragione, perchè N. S. debba per hora havere questa dispositione o speranza, havendo a pigliare o Spagna o Francia a questo effetto, & Spagna mi pare che sia poco potente, maxime allo sconfortare, cioè spendere. In Francia secondo la natura loro, non so come si possa fare fondamento, pure presupposto che mutassi natura, mi accorderei con N. S. che fussi manco male, maxime, perchè sarebbe manco pericoloso uno augumento di potentia in uno di casa di Lorena, che in Spagna, perchè il Duca di Lorena non è però Re di Francia, & veggiamo per experientia, che il Re di Napoli è molto più stretto con Spagna, che il Duca di Lorena con Francia, & nondimeno il Re di Napoli & Spagna non sono amici, & ciaschuno che fussi Re del Reame, farebbe poi il conto suo. Con tutte queste ragioni non intendendo io altro particulare, non conforterei mai N. S. a tentare mai per ora simile impresa; & se così è, lo esasperare il Re con citationi & simili cose per questo capo non giova, anzi chi fussi ad ordine a poter fare gagliardamente questa impresa, mi parebbe tanto più da fuggire ogni dimostratione di malo animo per fuggire il pericolo di quello, che può fare il Re dal dire al fare, che a

N° XLVII. me non pare poco, & però sarebbe meglio dissimulare & secretamente attendere a prepararsi, che mostrare malo animo prima che altri potessi offendere, che non è altro che dare occasione ad altri di prepararsi & offendere prima, sì che per ogni ragione in questo primo partito a me non pare sia bene citare il Re. Quanto alla seconda parte dello accordarsi, potrei ancora ingannarmi, perchè forse si propongono tali conditioni, che non sono note a me, le quali si ajutano meglio con questo modo della citatione, che forse servirebbe quando le pratiche fussino mature & quasi resolute, nel quale caso il darsi in qualche modo reputatione suole ajutare meglio il risolvere: ma se non ci è altro che quello che io so, le pratiche pajono acerbe & non punto di facile resolutione, & però questi modi, che si tenessino per ajutare tali pratiche, potrebbono forse generare qualche scandolo o ruptura, che è il contrario dello accordo. Quanto al temporeggiare, credo che questa parte non bisogna disputare, perchè senza comparatione è meglio posare le cose al presente con reputatione di N. S. che tentare la fortuna, massime perchè voi conoscete molto meglio di me, che il Re ha gran facultà di offendere. Hora come dico di sopra per non sapere più innanzi in queste cose non ve ne posso dire altro. Se il pro poco temere del Papa nasce da qualche buon fondamento, fate, che lo sappi ancora io per levarmi questa molestia, & benchè io non sia di natura vile, per la fede, che mostra il Papa in me, ho molto maggiore sospetto delle cose sue, che non harei delle proprie. Quando la S. S. ne sarà sicura, io attribuisco tanto alla prudentia & autorità sua, che ne resterò ancora io quieto. Insino che non intendo altro fondamento di questa sua sicurtà, vi confesso, che non sto con l'animo riposato. Se ci è cosa alcuna, per l' amore di Dio fatemela intendere, che per l' ordinario non mi sento bene. Non creda il Papa per cosa del mondo, che ad alcuno particulare proposito fuori del bisogno di S. S. io pensi, dica, o adoperi cosa alcuna, perchè il bene, che ho havuto da N. S. & quello che io ne aspetto, procede tutto dal suo buono stato reputatione. Del Sig. Lodovico ho detto quanto intendo, & aperto il cuore mio della natura sua. Io so che vo rettamente, & ho il mio primo fondamento in N. S. nè dirò altro che quello mi habbi detto molte volte, cioè che quando la S. Sua si possa accordare col Re con qualche parte dello honore suo, mi pare meglio uno comunale accordo, che una buona guerra: quando questo havessi difficultà, m' ingegnerei temporeggiare con honore & sicurtà, presupposto che non ci sieno quelle conditioni, che bisognerebbero ad valersi contro il Re, le quali dico di sopra, perchè quando ci fussino, sono certo il Re nello accordo si lasceria maneggiare, & consentirebbe all' honesto, & perchè io credo, che il Re intenda molto

bene

bene il male, che gli può essere fatto; dubito per questo non venga in più gagliardìa. Tutte queste mie ragioni potrebbero essere resolute invento; tale secreto potrebbe havere N. S. che non è noto a me. Non credo, che sia molesto alla S. Sua questo mio discorso con questa risolutione, che io ho sempre a sopportare quella medesima fortuna, che la S. S. voglio havere licentia di parlare sempre liberamente, & fare quello che vuole S. S. Ringratiate con ogni vostra efficacia ~~la S. di N. S.~~ della amoverole & benigna risposta vi ha fatta circa la protetione dell' Ordine de' Servi in Mes. Giovanni. Tutte queste cose mi obbligano immortalmente alla S. Sua. Piacemi assai, che siate stato a Cervetri & a S. Severa, & sopratutto mi piace vi habbino satisfatto i modi & i governi del Sig. Francesco con cotesti suoi sudditi, perchè Dio mi è testimone, che non amo meno lo honore & bene suo che il mio. Pregovi & conforto quanto posso adoperare con N. S. per dare perfetione alle cose di S. Severa, poichè voi medesimo giudicate la importantia & necessità di aggiungere questo stato a Cervetri. Così vorrei mi rispondessi qualche cosa di Gallese, perchè possa rispondere a quello amico, che doverà presto tornare a me. Bisogna che N. S. acconci una volta il Sig. Francesco in modo, che ogni dì non habbi havete molestia per le cose sue, acciochè lui & noi possiamo vivere lieti & di buona voglia, perchè, dicendo pure il vero, il Sig. Francesco non ha ancora stato conveniente a uno nipote di uno pontefice, e pure ci appressiamo al settimo anno del Pontificato. Debbesi havere più rispetto cominciando a venire in famiglia et con più giustificatione per questo lo può ajutare N. S. Florentiae die 17. Octobris 1489. N° XLVII.

N° XLVIII.

Laurentio de' Medici.

Ferdinandus Rex Siciliae.

MAGNIFICE vir compater & amice noster carissime. Non era necessario, che da voi fossemo rengratiati di quello per lettera de nostra mano ve ho offerto in beneficio di Mes. Joanni vostro figlio, perchè sape Dio lo animo & la voluntà nostra, quanto desideressimo fare tutte le cose del mondo per usarve gratitudine per quello havete continuamente operato in benefitio nostro, & de questo Stato, del quale sempre potete fare quella stima, che fereste delle N° XLVIII.

N°XLVIII. cose vostre medesime, perchè li oblighi, che ne havimo, così recercano, & mai ve poriamo offerire tanto in beneficio vostro & della casa vostra, che ne para havere satisfacta una millesima parte de quello, è lo animo & desiderio nostro de fare, secundo speramo per experientie, omni dì porite conoscere più manifestamente. Datum in Castello Novo. Neap. 23. Agosto 1488.

N° XLIX.

Pietro da Bibbiena a Clarice de' Medici a Roma.

N° XLIX. DOMINA mea. Scrivendovi io in nome di Lorenzo, non me accade dire altro alla M. V. se non che da sabato in quà ho scripto più lettere a quella, & per questa le mando lo inventario del presente del Soldano dato a Lorenzo, el quale mandai però a Piero, ma verrà più adagio. Vale.

Un bel cavallo bajo; animali strani, montoni e pecore di varj colori con orecchi lunghi sino alle spalle, & code in terra grosse quasi quanto el corpo; una grande ampolla di balsamo; 11. corni di zibetto; bongivi, & legno aloe quanto può portare una persona; vasi grandi di porcellana mai più veduti simili, nè meglio lavorati; drappi de più colori per pezza; tele bambagine assai, che loro chiamano turbanti finissimi; tele assai colla salda, che lor chiamano sexe; vasi grandi di confectione, mirabolani & giengituo.

N° L.

AURELII BRANDOLINI.

FLORENTINI.

Cognomento Lippi.

De laudibus Laurentii Medicis.

N° L. O MEA Tyrrhenas nondum sat nota per urbes
Huc ades imparibus vecta Thalia modis
Vade age laurigeros Medicum pete læta penates,
Magnaque Phœbei limini vise laris.

Est

Nº L.

Est via longa quidem fateor, sed splendor, & ampli
Maxima Laurenti gloria vincit iter.
Hunc igitur forti superabis mente laborem;
Præmia sunt viso sat tibi magna viro.
Nec vereare sacris aditum non esse Camœnis,
Illa domus Musis nocte, dieque patet.
Non nisi culta tamen te cœtu interesse tanto,
Odit barbaricos docta caterva sonos.
Ecquis enim Phœbo, Phœbique sororibus illo est
Gratior? Aonio quis magis amne bibit?
Sed sis culta licet moneo tua tempora serves
Omnia non omni tempore visa placent.
Excipiere illa (serves si tempora) fronte,
Quam præstare solet civibus ille suis.
Mox cum te placido trepidantem perleget ore,
Illi hæc de multis pauca sed apta refer.
Ausonios inter proceres, celeberrime princeps,
Inter & Etruscos gloria summa viros;
Accipe Laurenti quæ dat tibi munera Lippus,
Lippus Partenope civis ab urbe tuus.
Sunt ea parva quidem, sed sint tibi grata precamur,
Namque ea sunt animi pignora magna sui.
Mens pia cœlestes non grandis victima placat,
Hostia parva Deum sit modo sancta juvat.
Gratus erat Baccho quamvis pauperrimus esset
Icarus; & dignus numinis hospes erat.
Alcides domitis invicto robore monstris
Accubuit mensis sæpe, Molorche, tuis.
Ipse quoque immensum fertur quum viseret orbem
Juppiter in parva discubuisse casa.
Cumque torum pomis oneraret agrestibus hospes,
Vilia non puduit sumere poma Jovem.
Tu quoque parva licet placido mea carmina vultu
Accipe. Mœonius det tibi magna pater.
Et daret, & cuperet Pitii pro nomine Achillis,
Proque Itaco nomen ponere posse tuum.
Ast ego quod possum fero, tu ne parva ferentem
Despicias; animo dona repende meo.

Nº L.

Non sunt parva tamen; magnam celebrantia nomen,
Quæ tu vel solo nomine magna facis
Sed quisnam merito divinas carmine laudes
Concipere, & tanto par queat esse viro?
Mœonides iterum liceat Ciceroque resurgant,
Mœonides dicet cum Cicerone parum.
Ipse potes solus digno tua condere gesta
Carmine, te præter dicere nemo valet,
Vincitur ingenium tanto jam nomine nostrum,
Tergaque succumbunt pondere victa gravi.
Sed tamen incipiam, deerunt si carmina tantis
Laudibus, ignosces, sit voluisse satis;
Rursus in ambiguis versatur cura tenebris.
Rursus in incertum mens vaga fertur iter.
Quæ quibus ante feram, quæ prima aut ultima dicam,
Quis mihi sit finis principiive locus,
Bella ne dent aditum? quis bello est major, & armis?
Quis magis in dubio Marte timendus adest?
Quid tu te Æacidæ fulgentibus induis armis?
Exue, non faciunt ista, Patrocle, tibi.
Indue Laurenti nec eris simulatus Achilles,
Indue non Hector te duce fortis erit.
Nec nisi te armari pro se voluisset Achilles
Dixisset comiti: cede Meneacide.
Tu quoque quid spolium verbis tibi sumus Ulixe?
Huic dedit Æacides, non tibi: redde suum est.
Non tibi, sed nobis cessit Telamonius Ajax
Tu quoque (sed facies jam puto) cede libens.
Hunc decet Æacide spoliis gaudere superbis,
Hunc decet Hectoreas vincere sæpe manus.
Aspice quantus eat rutilis bellator in armis,
Quantus agat celerem quamque tremendus equum.
Quo tenet ingentes habitu, quo dirigit hastas,
Qua ferit ipse alios, qua cavet arte sibi.
Defendit clypeo, ferit ense, excellit utroque
Tutus abit clypeo, victor at ense redit.
Nemo levi melior jaculo volucrique sagitta,
Nemo pedes melior, nemoque præstat eques.

Seu

Seu cursu spatium rapido vis pervolet ingens; Nº L.
Vincet Traicio vos Aquilone sati.
Seu velis exiguum sonipes se verrat in orbem,
Vincere te propria, Castor, in arte potest.
Hunc Pellæus equus cuperet modo viveret unum,
Hunc cuperet solum Cæsarianus equus.
Magna gerit sumptis miles fortissimus armis,
Sed majora toga, consiliisque gerit.
Maxima consilio non armis bella geruntur,
Illa quidem faciunt jussa, sed ista jubent,
Hoc probat illustris facinus Themistoclis ingens
Libera consiliis Græcia tota suis.
Romaque prudenti nisi libera facta fuisset
Consilio; Pœni serva futura fuit.
Maximus Hannibalem nullo mucrone repressit,
Vastaret Latias quum sine fine domos;
Per juga per summos colles residere solebat,
Castraque in excelso semper habere loco.
Nubila quum tandem nimbum montana dedere
Sensit & Hannibales Hannibal esse duos,
Artibus his Fabius victorem contudit hostem,
Restituitque mora rem tibi Roma tuam.
Quid Cato! nonne tuam peperit bis victa ruinam
Carthago? & verbis diruit ante suis?
Quid loquar ereptam veniente tirannide Romam:
Non nisi consiliis, Marce diserte, tuis,
Jure parens igitur patriæ meritoque vocaris,
Reddita te, Cicero Consule Roma sibi est.
Nonne igitur posito fiunt quoque maxima bello?
Nonne locum media pace triumphus habet?
Hunc sibi facundo fretus Laurentius ore
Consiliis meruit sæpe referre suis.
Sæpe alias, sed parta recens (ut cetera mittam)
Non sinit indictum gloria abire decus.
Quis Volaterrani funesta incendia belli
Nescit, & armatas Marte furente manus?
Quantus & Ausonias urbes incenderat ardor,
Sustulerant animos ira, dolorque truces.

Nº L.

Acta furore gravi socia defecerat urbe,
Armarat validas in sua fata manus.
Undique finitimos rupto jam fœdere ad arma
Concierat populos Italicosque duces.
Instabant magni nostris discrimina belli,
Nec par tot populis urbs erat una satis
Perdere vel socios erat, aut superare necesse,
Ardua res nimis hæc, fœda erat illa nimis.
Quid faceret? dubia trepidabat in urbe senatus,
Certabant animis, hinc decus, inde pudor.
Jamque videbaris succumbere victa pudori
Gloria, jam turpi vertere terga fuga.
Ni tibi subveniens Tuscæ lux unica terræ
Ad tua victricem signa tulisset opem.
Protinus ille gravi trepidantem voce senatum
Arguit, & segnes increpat usque viros.
Hinc decus eximium, & victricem collocat urbem,
Hinc victam multo, cumque pudore locat.
Et jubet æquata geminas expendere lance,
Quaque velint potius vivere in urbe rogat.
Erigit hinc animos facunda voce jacentes,
Spemque dat hostiles vincere posse manus.
Quoque geri possit pacto res indicat omnis,
Consiliumque probat civibus inde suum.
Dicta placent patribus rerum huic traduntur habenæ,
Hic jubet, urbs nulla conficit illa mora.
Verba fides sequitur superat Laurentius hostem,
Et venit in Tuscum terra inimica jugum.
Quæ gesta, aut quas his poteris conferre triumphos?
Ista decent animum, vir generose, tuum.
Nonne hæc innumeros meruerunt gesta triumphos?
Plurimaque hoc meruit laurea serta caput?
Cuncta quidem cives illum meruisse fatentur;
Cunctaque detulerant; cepit at ille nihil.
O magnum, & nullo visum unquam tempore factum,
O vir sed magnos inter habende Deos!
Quid tibi pro tantis dignum virtutibus optem,
Aut quæ cœlestes præmia digna ferant?

Maxima

Nº L.

Maxima quum fuerint uno te cœpta jubente,
Et sint consilio bella peracta tuo;
Abnuis oblatos ultro, refugisque triumphos;
Detrahis & capiti laurea serta tuo,
Et quando hæc Fabium, quando hæc renuisse Camillum,
Aut Curium, lector, Fabritiumque vides?
Nonne & ab hoc maduit civili sanguine Cæsar?
Quum sibi sublatum non tulit esse decus.
Denique quis meritæ non poscit præmia palmæ?
Vincere magnanimi est, præmia nolle Dei.
Hic mihi millenas ausim deposcere linguas,
Et totidem voces, ferreaque ora simul.
Ut tantas merito resonarem carmine laudes,
Viveret & tanto nomen in orbe tuum.
Talia non debent nec possunt gesta perire,
Omnibus, Aonides, hæc celebrate modis.
Quid magis heroas Latio juvat edere versu?
Quid magis Herculea monstra subacta manu?
Quid magis Argolicas chartis mandare phalanges?
Fictaque Priamidæ gesta referre juvat?
Quis Romana puer, quis Punica prælia nescit?
Quis jam Pellæi non tenet acta ducis?
Scribite nunc alios, alios celebrate triumphos,
Inclita Laurenti dicite facta mei.
Hic solus meritos novit non velle triumphos,
Quodque petunt alii despicit ipse decus.
Jure potes talem, Laurenti, temnere pompam,
Non etenim gestis par erat illa tuis.
Gloria majorum tibi dat contempta triumphum,
Majus & a spreto surgit honore decus.
Deque triumphandi victa ambitione triumphas,
Non datur humanis viribus istud opus.
Quum reliquos soleas mortales vincere, mirum!
Exuperant laudes hæc nova facta tuas.
O decus, o præstans, divinaque gloria, quando
Jam nullum poteras vincere, te superas.
Quin tibi non unus meritusve, actusve triumphus
Innumeros tribuunt talia facta tibi.

N° L.

Quid quod & officiis servas civilibus urbem;
Inque dies auges nobilitasque magis.
Sed neque quid præstes hac est mihi parte tacendum,
Ni tua versiculis demoror acta meis.
Sed tibi (si fauces & copia vocis adesset)
Urbs mallet lingua cuncta referre sua.
Tu tamen illius hæc pectore prompta putato,
Hæc tibi si posset nunc velit ipsa loqui.
Principio victrix numeroso ex hoste triumphat;
Imputat hoc meritis maxima facta tuis.
Otia composito tutissima fœdere firmat,
Hoc quoque quis nescit muneris esse tui?
Bella silent: placida cives modo pace fruuntur,
Nec minor inter se pax quoque parta domi est.
Omnibus indulxit miti Laurentius ore:
Unanimos claudant mœnia ut una viros.
In curvam rigidus falcem nunc flectitur ensis,
Vomeribus cassis, vitibus hasta bona est.
Armaque qui coluit miles nunc incolit arva;
Arma quoque hic semper, sed meliora gerit.
Scilicet & rastros, & magno pondere aratrum;
Quæque habet alma Ceres, quæque Lyæus habet.
Fossor inermis arat, graditurque viator inermis;
Nec timet hostiles ille, vel ille manus.
Aurea, Laurenti, redeunt te sospite sæcla,
Aurea te nobis sospite vita redit.
Nec valet hoc quisquam (velles licet ipse) negare,
Nam te quisque petit, suspicit, optat, amat.
Quidquid habent omnes, tibi se debere fatentur,
Et sonat in populo nomen ubique tuum.
Defessus viridi requiescit arator in umbra,
Dumque sedet laudes concinit ille tuas.
Serus ab Etrusca discedens urbe viator,
Se tutum meritis cantat abire tuis.
Hic te divitias rogat, & rogat ille favorem,
Accipit optatum lætus uterque suum.
Te pupillus adit solum, verumque patronum:
Te simul orba parens, virgoque casta petit.

Optat

Optat opem hic, victum petit hæc, rogat illa maritum
Sentit opem hic, victum hæc impetrat, illa virum.
Hæc rogat amissam misero pro conjuge dotem,
Hanc quoque non pateris dote carere sua.
Ut juvet in carum pietas impensa maritum,
Efficis, & dotem das sibi ferre suam.
Nec satis hoc; inopi querula nil voce petenti
Ultro ades, & gratum porrigis auxilium.
Suppeditas largas (cum parva est copia) fruges,
Ut vivat meritis plebs numerosa tuis.
Denique quidquid habent pueri juvenesque, senesque
Aut virgo, aut mater, munus id omne tuum est.
Magna quidem dixi; longe majora sequuntur:
Hæc quoque sint quamvis non tibi magna satis
Instituis sanctis victricem moribus urbem,
Discat ut exemplo se superare tuo.
Jura aliis sancis, sed quæ prius ipse probaras,
Quæque jubes aliis, tu prius ipse facis.
Fusa prius luxu nunc est moderata juventus
Et cœpit similis moribus esse tuis:
Deposuit Tyrias vilis plebecula vestes,
Et didicit fines nosse modesta suos.
Omnia non debet, possit licet omnia vulgus,
Quæque valent omnes omnia ferre nefas.
Quisque igitur cohibet luxum, Tyriasque lacernas
Ponit, & in modica se tenet usque toga.
Hoc faciunt alii, superat Laurentius omnes,
Gaudeat ut mores urbs imitata ducis.
Tu quoque delitias posuisti, virgo, nocentes,
Non poteras alio vivere casta modo.
Non nisi fulgentem gemmis, auroque puellam
Cæcus Amor sequitur, quam bene cernit amor.
Non petit ancillas aurata veste carentes
Ille puer; sed te, culta puella, petit.
Nulla pudica diu, formosaque vivere posset,
Ipsa esset quamvis Pallade casta magis.
Vivere casta (gerit quum gemmas femina) non vult;
Culta nimis juvenes credite virgo vocat.

N° L.

Si

Nº L.

Si tua simplicibus facies contenta fuisset,
Tindari non te bis subripuisset amor.
Tu quoque non raptam quæsisses anxia natam,
Flava Ceres, cultu si foret usa tuo.
At tu delitiis vives nunc casta fugatis,
Munere Laurenti, Tusca puella, tui.
Illum igitur venerare sacri tibi numinis instar,
Quo duce parta redit vitâ pudica tibi.
Tu quoque laxa prius; nunc frugi, & parca juventus
Illius (esto memor) te tibi reddis ope.
Hoc duce pestiferum posuit Florentia luxum,
Et retinet fines femina, virque suos.
Imbuit ingenuis victricem moribus urbem
Luxuriem, & turpes sustulit illecebras.
Protulit imperium pugnando Roma superbum,
Sed præstans animi perdidit imperium.
Nam quum Marte suo nullos non vinceret hostes;
Armaque jam toto spargeret orbe potens;
Anxia captivo parebat turpiter auro,
Docta alios, sed se vincere docta parum.
Non sic imperium servat Florentia partum,
Non sic magna diu vivere posse putat.
Sed postquam externos vincendo sustulit hostes
Luxuriem, & molles vincere discit opes.
Optimus hoc docuit civis, facit ipsa libenter,
Qui jubet hoc fieri, fecerat ipse prius.
Namque ubi finitimos vicit Laurentius hostes,
Se docet exemplo vincere quemque suo.
Cæsar adulteriis pœnam statuisse minacem
Dicitur, ipse tamen turpis adulter erat.
Haud satis esse putat sanctas hic scribere leges,
Ut faciant alii, quæ jubet, ipse facit.
Condidit æternis meliorem legibus urbem,
Mœniaque huic circum nobiliora dedit.
Quid Numa, quid Minos, Lacedæmoniusque Lycurgus
Urbibus audebant condere jura suis?
Esto tamen, nullas modo quisquam conferat istis,
Scripta legunt homines illa, sed ista vident.

Mœnia quid, Theseu, quid mœnia, Romule pastor, N° L.
Condere vel Romæ Cecropiæve fuit?
Romule, non Romam, Theseu, non condis Athenas,
Sed qui jura dedit conditor ille fuit.
His magnæ his inquam cinguntur mœnibus urbes,
Hæc non tormenti robore fracta cadunt.
Perpetuam leges urbem non mœnia servant,
Mœnibus icta ruit, legibus aucta regit.
His igitur Tuscam cinxit Laurentius urbem
Mœnibus, ut nullo robore victa ruat.
Ergo pater patriæ communi est voce vocandus,
Dicite io cives jure pater patriæ.
Quid quod & Alpheas iterum sibi condere Pisas
Mens fuit, & cœptis ducta Minerva comes.
Undique Palladias studiosus contulit artes,
Ut colerent unum, quem colit ipse locum.
Elicuit mediis hic Pallada solus Athenis,
Ut præsit studiis non aliena suis.
Solus & Aonio ductas Helicone sorores
Ire nec invitas per juga Tusca facit.
Ipse pater Phœbus Cyrrha Delphisque relictis,
Venit & auratam protulit ante chelym.
Numina quando etiam Pisas injussa frequentant,
Certatimque suæ quisque dat artis opus.
Hoc tibi (quis nescit?) Laurenti numina præstant,
Tune putas Pisas sponte petisse sua?
Quæ tot causa Deos, quisve illuc cogere posset?
Cui veniunt igitur numina? nempe tibi.
Quem potius quæso superique hominesque frequentent?
Ecquis numinibus carior atque viris?
Esse hunc Cecropiæ carum junctumque Minervæ,
Consilium prudens juraque sancta probant.
Quis neget hunc olim doctas aluisse Camœnas?
Atque Aganippeo fonte levasse sitim?
Quum superent veteres etiam sua carmina vates,
Parque habeat reliquis partibus ingenium.
Quin etiam doctos profert extempore versus,
Qui deceant calamum, culte Tibulle, tuum.

Oblo-

Nº L.

Obloquiturque lyra numeros resonante disertos;
Est lyra numeris, ingeniumque lyræ.
Hic ne potest Phœbo gratus non esse Poëta?
An quisquam Phœbo gratior esse potest?
Quin illum proprias Deus excoluisse per artes
Dicitur, & cytharam sponte dedisse suam.
Nunc & uterque simul noctesque, diesque moratur,
Et canit ad doctam doctus uterque lyram.
Hactenus in tacito servaram pectore fixum
Clarius & cunctis (credite) majus opus.
Dicturus fueram Phœbi quoque sanguine natum,
Auctoremque sui stemmatis esse Deum.
Sed mea ne risum parerent ut vana verebar,
Nam solet a magnis rebus abesse fides.
At nunc intrepido sic jussit pectore numen,
Vix credenda quidem, sed tamen acta loquar.
Est Deus in nobis; cœlestis pectora versat
Spiritus; æthereo missus ab usque polo.
Sæpe & colloquio fruimur propiore Deorum.
Ipsa petunt nostros numina sæpe lares.
Hesterna meditans igitur dum luce requiro
Progeniem, & patres, vir generose, tuos;
Astitit aurato fulgens mihi Phœbus amictu,
Et cœpit posita talia verba lyra:
Inclita Laurenti, vates studiose, requiris
Stemmata; sed sine me non mea nosse potes.
Ipse ego sum tanti præclarus sanguinis auctor
Desine tu genus addubitare meum.
Ipse ego sum Medicæ (si nescis) gentis origo,
Primaque in inventis est medicina meis.
Quoque magis credas; hic nostra ex arbore ductum
Sumpsit; & a lauro nobile nomen habet.
Jure igitur cytharam, notrasque huic tradimus artes,
Laurea jure sedet vertice multa suo,
Dixit; & a nobis multo fulgore recedens.
Ambrosio totam sparsit odore domum.
Ergo age, Laurenti, divino sanguine gaude,
Gaudeat et Phœbo vestra parente domus.

Nec

N° L.

Nec minus ipse tuo lætus sis, Phœbe nepote,
Suscipiat sobolem gens quoque læta suam.
Gaudeat ut tanto Florentia gaudet alumno,
Tuscaque lætetur pignore terra suo.
Tu superas veteres juvenum pulcherrime divos,
Si fas est magnos vincere posse Deos.
Cornua quid, Liber, quid jactas, Phœbe, pharetram?
Phœbe, tibi pharetram, cornua, Liber, habe.
Est tibi formosum præstanti robore corpus,
Cui natura parens munera cuncta dedit.
Sunt & opes tantæ, Crœsos ut viceris omnes,
Seque putet Crœsus nunc habuisse nihil.
Fabritios, Curiosque tamen (qui crederet?) æquas,
Difficile est Crœsum vincere, & esse Numam.
Laurigeros etiam meruisti sæpe triumphos,
Magnaque parta foris gloria, magna domi.
Pierides idem retines, castamque Minervam,
Consulit hæc, vatem te chorus ille facit.
Adde quod & Phœbi generoso es sanguine cretus,
Et genere, ingenio, fidibus, arte vales.
Quid magis aut optent homines, aut numina præstent?
Omnia supremum jam tetigere gradum.
Quod tribuant nec habent superi, licet addere vellent
Nec tibi vir cupidus, quod magis optet habet.
Tu juvenis locuples, sapiens, generosus, honestus,
Singula quid referam? cuncta beatus habes.
O fortunatos homines, o sæpe beata
Sæcula, quæ tanto digna fuere viro.
Quæ tam læta dies tanti rogo munera partus
Gentibus innumeris, & tibi, terra, dedit?
Hanc dare qui sobolem tanti potuere parentes?
Cui licuit tanti pignoris esse patrem?
Quæ majora Deus potuit dare munera terris?
Quid potuit majus terra rogasse Deum?
Aurea falcifero non debent sæcula tantum,
Nec tantum Augusto sæcula pulchra suo.
Quantum nostra tibi, tibi se debere fatentur
Aurea, Laurenti, munere facta tuo.

Nec

N° L.

Nec tam læta suis fuit umquam Pella duobus,
Nec tam Roma suis inclita Cæsaribus
Quam tua te gaudet, tua te Florentia jactat,
Et queritur meritis non satis esse tuis.
Te sibi conveniens retinet modo sospite nomen,
Te sibi conveniens sospite nomen habet.
Vive igitur sospes, multo sed tempore vive,
Vincat Nestoreos & tua vita dies.
Semper & aspiret vultu tibi diva sereno,
Augeat inque dies te magis atque magis.
Sint tibi persimiles feeunda conjuge nati,
Quos amet, & meritis urbs sciat esse tuos,
Sentiat aut nullum aut serum domus inclita luctum,
Et fiant nati te seniore senes.
At tu cum meritis totum repleveris orbem,
Nec jam te poterunt astra carere diu.
Serus ad ætherei culmen te confer olympi
Gaudiaque optato carpe beata polo.

N° LI.

Laurentio de' Medicis

Ang. Politianus.

N° LI. MAGNIFICE Patrone. Da Ferrara vi scripsi l'ultima. A Padova poi trovai alcuni buoni libri, cioè Simplicio sopra el Cielo, Alexandro sopra la topica, Giovan Grammatico sopra le Posteriora & gli Elenchi, uno David sopra alcune cose de Aristotile, li quali non habbiamo in Firenze. Ho trovato anchora uno Scriptore Greco in Padova, & facto el pacto a tre quinterni di foglio per ducato.

Maestro Pier Leone mi mostrò e libri suoi, tra li quali trovai un M. Manilio astronomo & poeta antiquo, el quale ho recato meco a Vinegia, & riscontrolo con uno in forma che io ho comprato. E' libro, che io per me non ne viddi mai più antiqui. Similiter ha certi quinterni di Galieno de dogmate

dogmate Aristotelis & Hippocratis in Greco, del quale ci darà la copia a Padova, che si è facto pur frutto. N° LI.

In Vinegia ho trovato alcuni libri di Archimede & di Herone mathematici che ad noi mancano, & uno Phornuto de Deis; e altre cose buone. Tanto che Papa Janni ha che scrivere per un pezo.

La libreria del Niceno non abbiamo potuto vedere. Andò al Principe Messer Aldobrandino Oratore del Duca di Ferrara, in cujus domo habitamus. Fugli negato a lettere di scatole: chiese però questa cosa per il Conte Giovanni & non per me, che mi parve bene di non tentare questo guado col nome vostro. Pure Messer Antonio Vinciguerra, & Messer Antonio Pizammano, uno di quelli due gentilhomini philosophi, che vennono sconosciuti a Firenze a vedere el Conte, & un fratello di Messere Zaccheria Barbero son drieto alla traccia di spuntare questa obstinatione. Farassi el possibile; questo è quanto a' libri. M. Piero Lioni è stato in Padova molto perseguitato, & non è chiamato nè quivi nè in Vinegia a cura nissuna. Pure ha buona scuola, & ha la sua parte favorevole: hollo fatto tentare dal Conte del ridursi in Toscana. Credo sarà in ogni modo difficil cosa. In Padova sta malvolentieri, & la conversatione non li può dispiacere, ut ipse ait. Negat tamen se velle in Thusciam agere.

Niccoletto verrebbe a starsi a Pisa, ma vorrebbe un beneficio, hoc est, un di quelli Canonicati; ha buon nome in Padova, & buona scuola. Pure, nisi fallor, è di questi strani fantastichi; luî mi ha mosso questa cosa di beneficii: siavi adviso.

Visitai stamattina Messer Zaccheria Barbero, & monstrandoli io l'affectione vostra ec. mi rispose sempre lagrimando, & ut visum est, d'amore: risolvendosi in questo; in te uno spem esse. Ostendit se nosse quantum tibi debeat. Sicchè fate quello ragionaste, ut favens ad majora. Quello Legato che torna da Roma, & qui tecum locutus est Florentiae, non è punto a loro proposito, ut ajunt.

Un bellissimo vaso di terra antiquissimo mi monstrò stamattina detto Messer Zaccheria, el quale nuovamente di Grecia gli è stato mandato: & mi disse, che sel credessi vi piacessi, volentieri ve lo manderebbe con due altri vasetti pur di terra. Io dissi che mi pareva proprio cosa da V. M. &

N° LI. tandem sarà vostro. Domattina farò fare la cassetta, & manderollo con diligentia. Credo non ne habbiate uno sì bello in eo genere. E' presso che 3. spanne alto & 4. largo. El Conte ha male negli occhi, & non esce di casa, nè è uscito poichè venne a Vinegia.

Item visitai hiersera quella Cassandra Fidele litterata, & salutai ec. ec. per vostra parte. E' cosa, Lorenzo, mirabile, nè meno in Volgare che in Latino, discretissima & meis oculis etiam bella. Partimmi stupito. Molto è vostra partigiana, & di voi parla con tutta practica, quasi te intus & in cute norit. Verrà un dì in ogni modo a Firenze a vedervi, sicchè apparecchiatevi a farle honore.

A me non occorre altro per hora, se non solo dirvi, che questa impresa dello scrivere libri Greci, & questo favorire e docti vi dà tanto honore & gratia universale, quanto mai molti e molti anni non ebbe homo alcuno. E particolari vi riserbo a bocca. A V. M. mi raccomando sempre. Non ho anchora adoperata la lettera del cambio per non essere bisognato. Venetiis 20. Junii 1491.

N° LII.

Exstat Romæ in Bibliotheca Corsina, Catulli, Tibulli, ac Propertii editio, anni MCCCCLXXII. *una cum Statii Silvis, quæ fuit Angeli Politiani, cujus manu hæc in fine notata sunt.*

Band. Cat. Bib. Laur. v. ii. *p.* 97.

N° LII. CATULLUM Veronensem, librariorum inscitia corruptum, multo labore multisque vigiliis, quantum in me fuit, emendavi; quumque ejus Poetae plurimos textus contulissem, in nullum profecto incidi, qui non itidem, ut meus, esset corruptissimus. Quapropter non paucis Graecis, & Latinis auctoribus comparatis, tantum in eo recognoscendo operae absumpsi, ut mihi videar consequutus, quod nemini his temporibus doctorum hominum contigisse intelligerem. Catullus Veronensis, si minus emendatus, at saltem maxima ex parte incorruptus, mea opera, meoque labore & industria in manibus habitat. Tu labori boni consule, & quantum in te est, quae sunt, aut negligentia, aut inscitia mea nunc quoque corrupta, ea tu pro tua humanitate corrige, & emenda; memineriseque Angelum Bassum Politianum, quo

quo tempore huic emendationi extremam imposuit manum, annos decem & octo natum. Vale jucundissime Lector. Florentiae MCCCCLXXIII. pridie Idus Sextiles. Tuus Angelus Bassus Politianus. N° LII.

Similis nota in fine Propertii occurrit, & quidem ita. Catulli, Tibulli, Propertiique libellos, coepi ego, Angelus Politianus, jam inde a pueritia tractare, & pro aetatis ejus judicio, vel corrigere, vel interpretari; quo fit, ut multa ex eis ne ipse quidem satis, ut nunc est, probem. Qui leges, ne quaeso, vel ingenii, vel doctrinae, vel diligentiae nostrae hinc tibi conjecturam, aut judicium facito. Permulta enim infuerint (ut Plautino utar verbo). Me quoque qui scripsi judice digna lini. Anno 1475.

N° LIII.

Georgius Merula Alexandrinus, Laurentio & Juliano Medices, Salutem.

VETEREM legimus professorum morem fuisse, quem posteriores crescentibus sub inde disciplinis servaverunt, ut veri habendi gratia, si quid a scriptoribus perperam dictum fuisset, id corrigere & emendare vellent. Nec vel amicis, vel preceptoribus parcerent, modo veritati consulerent. Sic Aristoteles Platonem, Varro Lelium, Casselium Sulpicius, Hilarium Hieronymus. Rursum Hieronymum Augustinus reprehendit. Alii quoque permulti leguntur, quorum concertatione bonæ artes & illustratæ sunt & creverunt maxime. Hos ego imitari cupiens, cum opus Galeoti, quod de homine inscribitur, legissem, plurimaque non dico minus eleganter dicta, vel parum docte tractata, sed plane falsa offendissem, veritus ne lectio novi operis avido lectori imponeret: & eo magis cum non deessent qui mendose & vitiose precepta defenderent, quæ veterum auctoritate Galeotus niti videretur. Non potui sane pati bona ingenia sic decipi: & turpiter errare. Opem itaque cum veritati; tum amicis ferre volui, atque ea refellere quæ plurima temere & sine judicio dicta, in eo opere leguntur. Tum in libellum coacta Laurentio & Juliano Medices privatim dedicare statui. In quorum sinu nostra ætate maxima spes & studiorum ratio fovetur. Sic enim vos partes litterarum suscepistis: ut litteratorio gymnasio in nobilissima Italiæ parte nuper constituto, jam leges sanctissimæ & liberales disciplinæ, sic Laurentium & Julianum parentes appellare possint, quemadmodum Florentia N° LIII.

Nº LIII. Cosmum salutis & ocii sui auctorem, publico decreto, patrem patriæ dixit. Cujus urbis fato nimirum gratulandum est, quod negotiis publicis avum, filium, & nepotes, prefectos continua serie habuerit: per quos certa quædam & solida Florentini populi felicitas perduravit. Et ita nunc urbs pulcherrima & opulenta floret, ut non minus e re Florentina sit, Laurentio & Juliano Medices urbis tutelam per manus traditam fuisse, quam Cosmum & Petrum illi præfuisse: quorum prudenti consilio et magnifica opera, undique prementibus bellis, tutus & incolumis status civitatis servatus fuerit. Sed nec vos pœniteat qui in administrandis rebus urbicis occupati, semper magna tractatis, ad hæc legenda descendere; quando memoriæ proditum sit illustres rerum publicarum principes hoc fecisse. Sic Cicero post peroratas causas & curas publicas Antonii Gnifonis scholam frequentavit. Et Julius Cæsar, sive in bello, sive in civili negotio, de analogia libros conscripsit. Nos autem etsi in errores hominis sibi plurimum arrogantis: & qui omne genus scriptorum tractare audet, invehamur; tamen nec petulanti, nec contumelioso sermone res agitur, sed litteris & eruditione certatur; ut scilicet aliquando recte dijudicari possit: verius ne Galeotus, an Georgius de re Latina disserat.

Nº LIV.

Joannes Picus Mirandula,

Laurentio Medicis.

Nº LIV. APOLOGIAM nostram dicavi tibi, Laurenti Medices, ut rem non utique (Deum testor) visam mihi dignam tanto viro, sed tibi eo jure debitam quo mea omnia jam pridem tibi me debere intelligo. Hoc enim habeas persuasissimum, quicquid ego aut sum, aut sum futurus, id tuum esse Laurenti, & futurum semper in posterum: Minus dico quam vellem, & verba omnino frigidiora hæc quam ut satis exprimant quod concipio, in quo amore, qua fide, qua observantia, & prosequar, & a multis jam annis fuerim te prosequutus. Moveor cum pluribus in me collatis officiis, amantissimum animum tuum plane testantibus, tum tuis non tam fortunæ quam animi, iisdemque raris immo tibi peculiaribus bonis, quæ narrare in presentia pudor me non sinit

sinit tuus. Redeo ad Apologiam, quam hilarì quæso suspicias fronte; exiguum sane munus, sed fidei meæ, sed observantiæ profecto in omne tempus erga te meæ, non leve testimonium. Quam si forte eveniat ut a magnis quibus es semper occupatissimus tractandis rebus attingas, memineris non tam hoc ipsum & properatum scilicet opus potius quam elaboratum, & operis argumentum, ex alieno mihi non meo sumendum fuisse judicio: quam non iccirco illam nuncupatam tibi, ut quæ in mea non est, in me agnoscas, ingenii aut doctrinæ præstantiam: sed ut scias, nam dicam iterum, me quicquid sum, tuæ amplitudini esse deditissimum. N° LIV.

N° LV.

Marsilius Ficinus Angelo Politiano Poetæ Homerico. S. D.

QUID totiens quæris librorum meorum titulos, Angele? An forte ut tuis me carminibus laudes? at non in numero sed in electione laus: non in quantitate, sed in qualitate bonum. An potius ut mea apud te habeas omnia? quoniam amicorum omnia communia sint? utcunque sit, accipe quod petieras. E Græca lingua in Latinum transtuli Proculi Platonici physica, & theologica elementa. Jamblici Calcidei libros de secta Pythagorica quatuor. Theonis Smyrnei mathematica. Platonicas Speusippi definitiones. Alcinoi epitoma platonicum. Zenocratis librum de mortis consolatione. Carmina simbolaque Pythagoræ. Mercurii Trismegisti librum de potentia & sapientia Dei. Platonis libros omnes. Composui autem commentarium in evangeliam. Commentariolum in Phedrum Platonis. Commentarium in Platonis Philebum de summo bono. Commentarium in Platonis Convivium de amore. Composui physiognomiam. Declarationes Platonicæ disciplinæ at Christophorum Landinum, quas postea emendavi. Compendium de opinionibus philosophorum circa Deum & animam. Economica. De voluptate. De quatuor philosophorum sectis. De magnificentia. De fœlicitate. De justicia. De furore divino. De consolatione parentum in obitu filii. De appetitu. Orationem ad Deum theologicam. Dialogum inter Deum & animam theologicum. Theologiam de immortalitate animorum in libros decemque divisam. Opus de Christiana religione. Disputationes contra astrologorum judicia. De raptu Pauli in tertium cœlum. De lumine argumentum in Platonicam theologiam. De vita & doctrina Platonis. De mente N° LV.

Nº LV. questiones quinque. Philosophicarum epistolarum volumen. Utinam Angele, tam bene quam multum scripserimus, utinam tantum ceteris nostra placeant, quantum ego tibi, tuque mihi. Vale.

Nº LVI.

Ad Petrum Medicem in obitu Magni Cosmi ejus Genitoris, qui vere dum vixit optimus Parens Patriæ cognominatus fuit.

Naldus Naldius.

Nº LVI.

ERGO quis infandum possit narrare dolorem?
Quis possit lacrimas explicuisse graves?
Quæ mihi, quæ possit carmen spirare Dearum;
Dum gravis affligit pectora nostra dolor?
Dumque adeo Medicis lugemus funera Cosmi,
Natus ut extincti tristia busta patris.
Quum nova præsertim quæ jam dictare solebant
Vatibus Aonio verba notanda pede,
Nunc etiam nigra squallescant veste Camœnæ,
Et solvant tristes in sua colla comas.
Cum graviter Phœbus casu concussus acerbo
Dicatur mœsta conticuisse lyra.
Nam neque Syllani tantum te Cosme Quirites
Extinctum lacrimis condoluere suis.
Sed superi, quorum lugendi rarior usus,
Et procul a tristi vivere mœstitia.
Quod bene de cunctis adeo si Cosme fuisti
Promeritus, vita dum fruerere pia;
Ut sua nunc mœstis tundentes pectora palmis,
Heu mortis doleant fata severa tuæ.
Non precor e nostro discedat corpore luctus,
Aut sim præcipuæ conditionis ego.
Hoc precor, usque adeo laxentur membra dolore,
Ut pateat stupido pectore vocis iter.
Qua liceat mœsto dum fundimus ore querelas,
Fortunae miseras condoluisse vices,

Qua

N° LVI.

Qua liceat patriæ dum dantur justa parenti,
Tristia flebiliter publica damna queri.
Tempus erat Titan quo fervida signa per orbem
Altior Herculei terga Leonis adit.
Cum prope jam positus supremo in limine vitæ
Senserat extremum Cosmus adesse diem.
Ergo non vanos metuens in morte dolores
Inscia quos hominum turba timere solet,
Sed constans veluti qui dudum certus eundi
Sidereas cuperet nempe redire domos.
Advocat hic natum, qui verba extrema parentis
Audiat, heu levibus non referenda modis.
Qui simul accitus monitis gravioribus, ille
Divini subiit ora verenda patris.
Naturam nivei Medices imitatus oloris
Suprema moriens talia voce dedit.
Si morbus gravior tristi vitiata senecta
Corpora nostra vetat vivere posse diu;
Te precor, ut nostri tales de pectore curas,
Et medicam mittas, quam Petre quæris, opem.
Nec tu Parcarum durum contende tenorem
Humanis unquam flectere consiliis:
Nam me fata vocant, video, nam Juppiter ipse
Me jubet humanos deseruisse vices.
Non invitus eo, nec me mortalia tangunt
Vota, nec est vitæ jam mihi cura meæ.
Humanas pridem meditor deponere curas;
Et procul humano me removere gradu.
Corporis ut cæcis tenebris vinclisque solutus
Extremum valeam carpere mente bonum.
Quo facere id possim, curas tu, nate, paternas
Suscipe, sunt humeris pondera digna tuis.
Quarum nulla magis me me nunc urget euntem,
Nec magis ingenium degravat ulla meum,
Quam me, quæ semper vita mihi carior ipsa
Extitit heu patriam linquere, nate, piam.

Quod

N° LVI.

Quod te per geminos tua pignora cara nepotes
Oroque perque meum, Petre, senile caput.
Ardenti ut studio Lydos tueare penates,
Et procul infesto semper ab hoste tegas.
Et quæ nunc multos est jam ferrata per annos
Florentis placidus ocia pacis ames.
Concordes moneo semper complectere cives,
Et quibus est Patriæ maxima cura suæ.
His precor, ut sociis Etrusci frœna Leonis
In rectum semper flectere, nate, velis.
Nec tu justitiæ monitus contemne severos,
Dum statues urbi libera jura tuæ.
Namque potes diros populi vitare tumultus,
Hac duce dum meritus quemque tuetur honos.
Quin ubi te justis urbes populique videbunt
Legibus Etruscas instituisse domos.
Undique convenient ad te, mi nate frequentes,
Qui rebus cupient consuluisse suis.
O quam conspicies hanc urbem, qualia cernes
Tempore Lydorum surgere regna brevi!
Cum tibi vel reges potius parere monenti,
Quam reliquis mores imposuisse volent.
Hic ego si tenues fuero dilapsus in auras,
Ut nequeam sedes, nate, videre novas;
Attamen Etrusci gaudebo ut regna Leonis
Accipiam monitis aucta fuisse tuis.
Nam me quæ tenuit vivum tellure repostum
Suscipiet patriæ maxima cura meæ.
Jamque vale, & nostrum pompis ornare sepulchrum
Desine! quod terra est, fac quoque terra tegat.

* * *

N° LVII.

Christophori Landini, in obitu Michaelis Verini.

ELEGIA.

Band. Cat. Bib. Laur. vol. III. *p.* 463.

ESTNE levis rumor? sic, o, seu conscia veri N° LVII.
Fama; sed heu nimis est conscia fama mali;
Occidit heu, vestrum crimen, crudelia fata,
Occidit heu Michaël, luctus, amorque patris;
Occidit, Aonio quem vos nutristis in antro,
Musae, Cyrrhaei quem lavit unda jugi;
Occidit heu Michaël, proprio nam nomine dixit
Princeps Aonii Calliopea chori.
Quis Deus est, Michaël resonat; modo nosse velimus
Prisca Palaestino verba notata sono;
Ipse Deus quid sit, vix puber nosse laborat,
Tempore quo reliquis ludus et umbra placet.
Verum id quum vera faceret ratione, putandum est
Verini agnomen non sine sorte datum.
Quid pietas, quid casta fides, quid possit honestum,
A teneris annis hic monumenta dedit;
Quique solet primam nimium vexare juventam,
Expers obscaeni semper amoris erat.
Vivebat caelebs, primis atque integer annis
Contempsit Cypriae dulcia dona Deae.
Hoc tulit indigne, superat qui cuncta Cupido,
Cui parent superûm numina magna Deûm,
Et parat ultrici puerum terebrare sagitta,
Altitonum valeat qua superare Jovem;
Sed frustra aurato tentat praefigere telo
Pectora, quae sanctae Palladis arma tegunt.
Hoc cernens, aliosque dolos, aliudque volutans
Consilium, insolita callidus arte petit;
Nam morbum immisit, quem nec queat ipse Machaon,
Nec tua docta manus pellere Phoebigena.

N° LVII.

Convocat heic medicos Paullus, quem cura nepotis
Anxia sollicitum nocte, dieque premit.
Conquirunt igitur veterum monumenta virorum,
Siqua datur morbo jam medicina gravi,
Quae, Galiene, tuo divine volumine monstras,
Quaeque docet Coi pagina docta senis,
Quid velit Hippocratis magni doctrina, quid ille,
Cujus Arabs justo paruit imperio.
Mosaicosque manu versat, Latios, Danaosque,
Quique colunt ripas, advena Nile, tuas.
Denique perceptis cunctorum sensibus, omnes
Huc veniunt, atque haec mens fuit una viris;
Non posse extremae hunc tempus sperare juventae,
Gaudia percipiat ni tua, pulcra Venus.
Res miranda quidem, rara et per saecula visa,
Exemplum in puero tale pudicitiae:
Qui vitae sanctum potuit praeferre pudorem,
Viveret ut semper, tunc voluisse mori.
I nunc, Hippolytum verbis extolle superbis,
Bellerophonteum nomen in astra refer;
Non hic Antiam, non pulcrae gaudia Phaedrae,
Omnia sed Veneris furta nefanda fugit.
At ne forte putes nullo hunc caluisse furore,
Nulla nec aligeri tela tulisse Dei;
Sunt geminae Veneres, gemini hinc oriuntur Amores,
Terra haec demersa est, caelitus illa venit.
Altera, vulgarem vero quam nomine dicunt,
Namque levis plebis vilia corda domat,
Mortalesque artus, homines, formaeque caducae
Terrenum miseros corpus amare jubet.
Altera caelestis superis dominatur in oris,
Mater nulla illi est, Juppiter ipse pater,
Haec, quas nulla mali violant contagia sensus,
Divino mentes urit amore pias.
Hic Michaël valido praefixus pectora telo,
Caelum amat, et caeli moenia mente capit,
Nec quidquam puerile sapit puerilibus annis,
Tristis at in tenera fronte senecta sedet.

Sevocat a sensu mentem, taetramque perosus
Luxuriem, aethereae scandit ad astra plagae,
Cunctaque sub pedibus mittens, quae mersa sub ipsa
Materia, in tenebris corpora caeca tegunt,
Et magni volitans mundi per curva, supernos
Spirituum volucer tentat adire choros.
Interea pestis teneros depascitur artus,
Contrahit in rugas squallida membra lues,
Et toto succum flaccescens corpore sugit
Pus solidum, innatus deserit ossa vigor,
Donec ab absumptis animus discedere membris
Cogitur, et putri carcere pulsus abit,
Pulsus abit, sed laetus abit, vinclisque solutus
Cognoscit quantum mors habet ista boni,
Exsilioque gravi liber, caelestia summi
Quae patria est ardet visere templa Dei.
Sed quid te plorem puerum, Verine, quid ultra
Fata tuae mortis stultus iniqua querar?
Mortuus en vivis; sed nos dum nostra manebit
Vita, nimis blanda morte maligna premet.

Gabrielis Mediolanensis Theologi Carmen in sepulcro ejusdem.

Conditur hoc tumulo tuus, o Florentia, vates,
Verinae Michaël stirps generosa domus,
Qui dulces Elegos scripsit lanugine prima,
Naso, tuis similes, terse Tibulle tuis.
Ad tria lustra, duos hic vix adjecerat annos,
Quum vitam hanc miseram pro meliore dedit.
Occidit obscaenae Veneris contagia vitans,
Aeger, et hanc medicus dum sibi spondet opem.

In Michaëlem Verinum.

Ex Op. Ang. Politiani. Ald. 1498.

Verinus Michaël florentibus occidit annis;
Moribus ambiguum major, an ingenio.

Disticha

N° LVII.

Disticha composuit docto miranda parenti,
Quæ claudunt gyro grandia sensa brevi.
Sola Venus poterat lento succurrere morbo.
Ne se pollueret, maluit ille mori.
Sic jacet, heu patri dolor, et decus: unde juventus
Exemplum, vates materiam capiant.

Consolatoria a. S. Ugolino Verini per la morte di Michele, suo figliuolo.

Di Girol. Benivieni. nelle sue opere. Ven. 1524.

Qual più ingrata virtù, qual impia sorte
Qual duro fren, qual cieco inetto & stolto
Furor, qual nuova legge iniqua e cruda
Fia che'l fonte immortal, ch'acerba morte
D'amaro pianto ha intorno al cor raccolto
Con le sue proprie man restringa e chiuda?
Taci lingua crudel rustica e nuda
D'ogni pietà, crudel, anzi tenore
Farai piangendo a' suoi giusti lamenti.
Gl'improbi tuoi dolenti
Sospir, perchè, perchè la via del core
Non apron lasso? e perch' agli occhi in tanto
Duol, Padre, hor nieghi'l disiato pianto?
Rompi hormai'l duro fren, l'iniqua legge
Sprezza, ch' al tuo dolor non se conviene,
Nè si può modo por ch' indietro il volga.
Chi del cieco dolor governa e regge
L'improbo e duro freno è in poche pene,
Nè sa ben com' un cor s' affliga e dolga.
Rompa hor dunque'l van fren, apra e disciolga
L'indurati sospir, l'horribil pioggia
Che l' attonito cor restringe e serba.
Ahim: che tropp' acerba
Tropp'iniqua cagion dentr' al cor poggia.
Non virtù, ma furor quel piant' infrena
Che sciolto invita, e chiuso ad morir mena.

Piangi

Nº LVII.

Piangi dunque, infelice e miser Padre,
Poichè morte crudel quel sol n'ha spento
Quel sol ch' esser potea tua guida e scorta.
Ecco Amor, Phebo, e l' altre sue leggiadre
Suore, piangend' al tuo flebil lamento
Fan tenor, poi ch' ogni lor gloria è morta.
Teco piange ogni padre, e chi non porta,
Chi non ha al tuo dolor, e a' tuoi affanni
Pietà, non può saper che cosa è figlio.
O nostro human consiglio
Pien d' ignoranza, almen hor con tuoi danni
Conosci, impio mio cor, quanto sia inferma
La mente di ciascun che quì si ferma.
Lasso, quante speranze insieme, e quanti
Fior di futuri ben nel vivo obietto
Posto havea'l ciel, le stelle, e la natura;
Amor suo albergo fè degli occhi santi,
Del volto gratia, e del pudico petto,
Honestà sempre immaculata pura.
Quici (e ch'il crederia?) de l'impia et dura
Falce, l' ultimo colpo aspettar volse
Pria che l' alma oscurar, candida e bella.
Così di sua novella
Pianta, acerbo quel fior per forza colse
Morte crudele, il cui ben culto frutto
Far di se potea lieto il mondo tutto.
Sette e sette anni e tre già volto il sole
Havea'l gran cerchio suo, dal primo giorno
Ch' al bel nostro orizonte il tuo sol nacque,
Quando credo per far dell'alme e sole
Sue vive luce il ciel più riccho e adorno
Morte al mondo oscurar quel sol gli piacque,
E perchè mentre in terra afflitto giacque,
Nel suo corporeo vel mirabilmente
Qual fussi'l suo valor ne mostro alhora,
Ben creder dei che hora
Dell'immense sue pene il premio sente,
Et ch' in cambio al dolor caduco e breve,
Immortal gaudio sù nel ciel riceve.

N° LVII.

Così da quest' inferma e cieca vita
Qual contr' al suo disìo per forza'l tenne
Chiuso piangendo in questo oscuro speco,
Felice è in grembo al suo fattor salita
L' alma, a veder la patria ond'ella venne,
Per essempio del ciel, nel mondo cieco.
Et hor lasso, da noi partendo, seco
Se'n portòl vero ben, quel ben dal quale
Ogni tuo bene human deriva e pende,
Ivi tant'hor risplende
Che se in virtù del ciel l' occhio mortale
Potessi gli occhi suoi ben guardar fiso
Cangere'l tristo pianto in dolce riso.
Dunque qual nuovo error ti stringe e muove
A pianger quel che ti dovria far lieto,
Se vero è che'l suo ben ricerchi e chieggia ?
Non sai ben che salito in parte è, dove
Com' in fulgido specchio ogni secreto
Del tuo misero cor convien che veggia ?
Quinci'l fonte, onde in van converso ondeggia
Dal cor, per li occhi un lagrimoso fiume
Scorge e pietoso del tuo mal si turba,
Così oscura e deturba
L' infelice tuo pianto il divin lume
Di quel, ch' acceso d' amoroso zelo,
Così Padre ti parla infin dal cielo.
Non hai padre, non hai come tu pensi
Perduto quel di cui mentre ch' io vissi
Miser in terra havesti à pena un ombra.
Hor se l' interno sole da' ciechi sensi
Sciolto, se gli occhi infermi al ciel tien fissi,
Vedrai ben quanto error t'involve e'ngombra.
Vivo son io, e qualunque altro adombra
Vostro carcer mortal ben dir si puote
Morto, quand' altri al mondo 'l tien per vivo.
Dunque Padre s' io vivo
Com' io fo lieto in queste eterne rote,
Et se tu mi ami, o se'l mio ben ti piace,
Pon la lingua in silentio e gli occhi in pace.

Canzona,

Nº LVII.

Canzona, io credo hormai che l' impia piaga
Ch' accesa in mezzo al miser petto spira,
Benchè cruda, palpar si possa in parte.
Va dunque, e come del pio cor presaga
Vedi, e se forse ancor per se respira
Da tante e tante lagrime gia sparte,
Di che se'l ciel, l' ingegno il tempo o l' arte
Non ponno in lui, ch' almen l' inchini e volti
La voglia di colui che acciò l' induce,
Et che l' amate luce,
Senza timor alcun, non dopo molti
Anni, dell' alma sua vera Phenice,
Vedrà in ciel, più che mai bella e felice.

Nº LVIII.

De studio Pisanae Urbis, & ejus situs maximâ felicitate, ad Laurentium Medicem.

Car. de Maximis.

Nº LVIII

ITE, quibus studiis amor est accendere mentes,
Ingenii quibus aura favet, quibus aethere ab omni
Hac una astriferi datur ad fastigia regni
Ire via, et merito concessum assistere caelo;
Ite, datur veteres tandem consurgere Pisas,
Et priscus renovatur honos, Sint diruta quamvis
Moenia Tyrrhenum late dominata per aequor,
Tu tamen exstinctam studiis melioribus urbem
Instaurare paras, atque intermissa Minervae
Sacra novas, Medices; procul exsultantia cerno
Littora, et arridet vicina Palaemonis unda.
Quid mirum? geminus qui faucibus excipit Arnum
Collis ovat, Dominique intrantis laeta salutat
Stagna Dryas, mediamque libens transmittit in urbem.
Vix mihi certa fides, num tu Pelopeia tellus,
Num vos Tyrrhenae, tristissima moenia, Pisae?

Unde

N° LVIII.

Unde haec laeta dies tam festinantibus horis
Effulsit, quaenam vobis inopina reluxit
Gratia, quaeve hilaris subito fortuna renata est?
O bona lux! patriis nuper discedere tectis
Incola jussus erat, vacuoque in limine matres
Flebant, crudeles & detestantia Divos
Ora cruentabant, tantae memoresque ruinae
Errabant tristes, & sparsis crinibus umbrae.
Quae modo tam volucri redierunt gaudia penna?
Quaenam fata locis? plectrone haec saxa canoro
Demulcet dorso residens delphinis Arion?
Dircaeae num fila lyrae? Stupet Italus orbis,
Hucque fluit, Libycis nec qui Deus exstat arenis,
Aurato insignis cornu, nec opaca Sibyllae
Tot simul adjunctas videre silentia gentes.
Nec mirum, nam tu mediis de nubibus urbi
Alluces, positaque hanc erigis aegide, Pallas,
Et dubium juvenem, nec adhuc fidentis habenas
Ipsa impellis equi, & magnis hortatibus urges.
Quin age, seu chara nunc in Tritonide virgo
Lanificas monstras artes; seu corpora pura
Tingis aqua, & primos non dedignaris honores;
Sive ad Cecropias frustra lamenta profundis
Relliquias, cinerique virûm, incumbisque ruinae;
Seu potius laetas inter Dea candida Divas
Texis opus, niveoque animas in stamine telam,
Huc propera, huc totis ad terram labere pennis;
Sume vias, non te poscunt juga Sarmata multo
Pressa gelu, aut Cancro ferventis gleba Syenes;
Sed vocat uvifero madidus de palmite Frater,
Deque Fluentino propior Cyllenius axe;
Laeta, hilarisque veni, qualem post bella gigantum
Vidit pacifera velatus fronde sacerdos.
Adspice cognatis quanto tibi moenibus arae
Thure sonant; nec enim haec superis incognita sedes,
Sed de sacrifico dicta est bona Thuscia ritu.
Heic tibi non oleae deerunt; aptissima ponto
Pinus habet colles; huc si te forte tulisses,

Quum

Nº LVIII.

Quum tua Phryxaeas esset cursura per undas
Puppis, et Argois aptares robora remis,
Non aliis classem tentasses ducere silvis.
Heic tua fatiferos primum tuba compulit enses,
Et bellator equus clangentes arsit ad iras.
Ubera quid referam terrae, formasque locorum?
Vobis Campanae nec cedat Thuscia glebae;
Et si larga magis multum, si ditior istis
Stet natura locis, et pleno copia cornu,
Thusca magis cultu tellus formosa, magisque
Ingeniosus ager; medio pomaria saxo
Cernis, et agricolam sterili de vertice messem
Colligere; his credunt Cerealia semina sulcis
Spargere Triptolemum, picturatosque dracones
Arentem placidis terram irrorare venenis.
Non taceam Thuscis et quae nascantur in oris
Pectora, consiliis, duroque aptissima bello,
Contentique magis laeta sub pace quiescunt.
At tu, Laurenti, quae te pietatis imago
Moverit hos tantos ut molirere paratus,
Dinumera, et caeptis quando mihi parcere tantis
Difficile est, tu tende chelym, partemque tuarum
Tot mihi de cumulis da nunc perstringere rerum;
Et mea si nimium levis, et temeraria virtus,
Da veniam, trepidamque ratem propelle per Euros.
Et tu, Cosme Pater, cujus sibi numen adorat
Arnus, Romano cognatus vertice Tybri,
Praebe animos, impelle lyram, et majore cothurno
Ire jube, numen certum, et mihi major Apollo.
Est in Pisano saltu nemus, ardua multum
Cui coma, frondentesque in caelum surgitis alni,
Montivagis domus apta feris, accessaque numquam
Solis equis; habitant salientes robora Fauni;
Virginibus sacra silva choris, castaeque Dianae
Creditur, ipsa loci facies dat signa, novaeque
Auditae voces, et visae per juga Nymphae.
Huc, quum civiles cessarent undique curae,
Urbanusque labor, laeto Laurentius ore

Venerat,

N° LVIII.

Venerat, Herculeo sic quondam robore fidens
Atlas, deposita gavisus mole laboris,
Et super injecto paullum subductus ab astro.
Nec mora, pars multa cingunt indagine valles,
Pars urgere canes, et vincula demere collo;
Cornua mille sonant, vestigatorque Molussus
Dat signum, fugiente fera, tremit icta fragore
Silva, et diffusi fugiunt per devia Panes.
Vallis erat, vitreas ubi formosissima servat
Nais aquas, densisque expellens frondibus aestus
Brumam Nympha sibi facit, et nunc roscida musco
Strata tegit, tremulosque lacus nunc flore coronat
Narcisso, aut foliis, casus qui luget amaros.
His Dea venatu defessa loquacibus undis
Assuerat Dictymna suas renovare sagittas,
Et multo nitidos temerabat sanguine rivos:
Et tum forte aderat, quae vocibus excita vidit
Quum primum per lustra virum, quo subter anhelat
Arte laboratis circumspiciendus habenas
Acer equus, laterique haeret fidissima tigris,
Spartana de matre canis; Mea Cosmea proles,
Haec ait, o superi quantum debere fatemur!
O vos, vicinae quantum exsultabitis arces!
Nec mora, velocem pedibus, similemque sagittae
Ire jubet cervam, quae se frondentibus umbris
Opponat, monstretque viro, tum deinde revertat
In liquidum fontem volucri vestigia gyro.
Illa volat celeri frondosa per avia saltu;
Quam simul adspexit celso de vertice tigris
Irrumpit silvis, animos vox nota ministrat
Festinantis heri, timidis it pendula costis
Tigris, et in vallem vicinis dentibus urget.
Ecce per irrigui nemorosa cubilia fontis
Accelerat Diana gradus, optataque lora
Pernicis Dea pressit equi, et sic ora resolvit:
Chare nimis, dilecte mihi, quem gentis Etruscae
Fas dixisse Deum, quantum tibi Numina debent!
Quantum ego! nam solis habitabam frigida lucis,

Virginibus comitata meis, atque aëre nudo.
Hippolytus mihi nullus erat, qui retia posset
Tendere, et alatos mecum praevertere cervos;
Languebant Satyri, Nymphaeque, et flumina, et auras
Implebant querulis actae clamoribus umbrae.
Per te cuncta mihi redeunt, manesque quiescunt,
Exsultant silvis Dryades, Nereides undis;
Nec deserta queror, nam te mihi semper in istis
Collibus adscipio comitem, et mea lustra frequentas
Candidior, similisque Deo, quotiesque putarem
Fratrem materna venisse per aequora Delo,
Si calami ex humeris starent, et flexilis arcus.
Dum loquor, inque tuos figo, placidissime, vultus
Lumina, quanta paras oculis! o quantus in ore
Stat genitor, patriique nitet splendoris imago!
Virtus quanta patet, quanti monstrantur honores?
Et tibi, si qua fides superis, longaeva merenti
Tempora et astra dabunt, sed ne pars ulla parato
Deficiat caelo, nostris his annue dictis,
Ostendam quo sis fugiturus tramite terras.
Est mihi chara soror, quam nec Cytherea, nec umquam
Vos jaculatores illam fixistis Amores,
Vertice nata Jovis, cui cessa potentia ferri,
Proximaque, in studiis nec enim minor addita virtus,
Nunc incerta loci, varias defertur in urbes,
Qua se ponat humo, sedem quibus eligat oris
Nescit, et exstinctas semper suspirat Athenas,
Nec voluit parvi ripis considere Rheni,
Nec, Ticine, tuis; hic enim civilibus armis
Noxius, hic magno didicit servire tyranno.
Libera mens illi est; da tu, charissime, portus,
Da fessae sua tecta Deae; non heic furit ensis
Civicus, et claro gens est dilecta Leoni,
Magnanimae servitque ferae, placidasque jubarum
Non timet ad setas primis vagitibus infans
Ludere, et a forti pendent cervice puellae.
Eja age, perge, adero, mecumque ad tanta juvabit
Frater, et huc gentes gemino mittemus ab axe.

Dixerat,

N° LVIII.

Dixerat alatis et se per devia plantis
Sustulit in silvas, lateri cui plurima virgo
It comes, et nitida sequitur vestigia palla,
A jaculis lucent humeri, nervoque sonanti
Omnibus arcus erat, Zephyris raptique capilli
Colla repercussis umbrabant candida tergis,
Divinumque cohors late dispersit odorem
Per silvam, et casti lustrarunt avia vultus;
Quaque recesserunt sese violaria plantis
Supposuere, latus subitoque rosaria tractu
Cinxere, et ramus se culmine flexit ab alto.
Venantes sensere viri, subitusque per ora
Fulgor iit, blando mansit fera juncta Molosso,
Quae prius auditis fugit latratibus umbram.
Hauserat has voces, hortatricisque Dianae
Numen agit Medicem: vix bino Sole calentes
Aeripedes fumastis equi, totiesque relapsi
Vos ponti mersistis aquis, et vera per urbes
Fama volat, Studium lapsis componere Pisis
Te te, LAURENTI; nec enim minus inclyta virtus
Ista tibi, quam quum Volterras marte rebelles
Ausus es ipse tuis de tot modo civibus unus
Vincere, et injectis hostem frenare catenis.
Ergo ubi multivago discurrit fama volatu,
Et circumfusi procul, ut sensere parari,
Accurrunt populi; florentes mittit alumnos
Trinacris ora, venit Gallis admistus Iberus,
Quique racemifero vultum crinesque sequuti
Se vovere Deo; ruit huc gens omnis; anhelant
Aequora, & Inoi capiunt vix claustra Learchi.
En ego nunc etiam nimium fidente carina
Dum feror, et puppem majori credimus Austro,
Distrahor, et rapido multum increscentibus undis
Nutat cymba mari, et scindunt mea vela procellae.
Nam quis inexpleti referat certamina circi,
Quis tantos rerum motus? non si mea texant
Tempora Maeoniae laurus, et Cynthius haustus
Bellerophonteos plenis indulgeat urnis,

Sit

Sit satis, et tantos valeam narrare paratus.
Cedite vicinae, liceat mihi dicere, Senae,
Tuque Antenoreo tellus fundata colono,
Felsineaeque nives, tuque o cui sanguine nostro,
Ticine, infausto tumuerunt flumina bello;
Non vestris tam grande sonat facundia muris;
Non heic qui populos doceant sub lege tenere,
Justitiaeque sacros monitus, et jura ministrent
Deficiunt, nec qui conducere vulnera, morbos,
Ostendant, somnos et quid fugientibus aegris
Efficiat, mortes et qua teneantur ab herba;
Sidera qui reseret, magnique volumina coeli
Explicet; heic omni fulgent ex arte nitentes
Stipanturque viri; Graecae huc facundia fluxit
Romanaeque decus linguae, majoraque dictis
Sunt et plura meis; nihil his quod dicere possis
Deest grande locis; genialis gratia terris
Indulsit, largum seu fundat Juppiter imbrem,
Tunc quum saevit hiems, Calabros seu Syrius urit,
Aut fervet latos Nemeae populator in agros,
Temperies his mira locis; uberrima tellus
Ipsa suas distinguit opes; heic flumina fecit
Flexivagis ambire vadis; hinc surgere in altum
Verticibus montes, vastas radicibus imis
Hinc cadere in valles; ast inde tepentia fumant
Balnea de terra, multumque salutifer argis
Nascitur humor aquae; stagnis sudare videres
Numina, anhelantesque hiberno frigore Nymphas.
Ista vaporiferae nec vincant aequora Baiae.
Nec vos vicinae notissima Balnea Lucae
Quid bipara referam pendentes arbore fructus,
Quid bene partitis laetissima dotibus arva
Naturaeque vices? hinc pubescentibus uvis,
Ulmea serpentes pingunt fastigia vites,
Et circum amplexis servant connubia nodis;
Illinc effusis large super arva canistris
Laeta Ceres natam Stygiis invitat ab undis,
Exoratque Jovem; Thuscis deque urbibus una

N° LVIII.

Romanae par haec, et terra simillima glebae est.
Lanigerae pecudes, campisque armenta vagantur,
Lascivique greges; nemora heic habitataque miti
Lustra fera; arboreis heic se cum cornibus infert
Actaeon, trepidae saliunt et per juga damae,
Et mollis lepus, et maculato tergore caprae.
Non ursus, non tigris adest; si forte malignus
Frendit aper, vel spumivomo diffulminat ore,
Te sibi, LAURENTI, fatis melioribus usum,
Thestiaden sentit, si quive in valle leones
Occurrunt, placidi lambunt vestigia, et altas
Summisere jubas, et te voluere magistrum.
Non sileam positus urbis; stant margine plano
Moenia, et aëreas medio transmisse canali
Arne, domos, urbemque tuis interfluis undis,
Arne, Fluentinos qui praeterlaberis hortos,
Fecundisque secas rivis, non fonte refuso,
Nec rapidis transcurris aquis, sed pontis habenas
Dignaris, curvos et te quater addis in arcus;
Inde tuam aequoreis immisces Dorida nymphis,
Fessaque littorea praetexis cornua myrto.
Parte alia portus, cinctis ubi Nereus undis
Innatat, et posito paullum fervore quiescunt
Aequora, et incluso Nereides amne lavantur.
Heic Athamantheus nautis venientibus infans
Lustratam flammis, et ituram in nubila turrim,
Per latas ostendit aquas, parvoque reclamat
Vagitu, et vigili noctem propellit olivo.
Nec procul a terra surgentes cautibus altis.
Bis geminas arces servat, cignitque catena,
Brontis opus, tutis ubi possit navita velis,
Securo totas noctes traducere somno.
Heic et Atlantiades dulci testudine pontum
Mulcet, et auratis invitat Pallada chordis,
Hortaturque viros, fidissima laudis imago
Quos superis facit ire pares, et vivida virtus.
Ille renascentes canit altra ab origine Pisas,
Seu quod, magne Pelops, dederis tu nomina terris,

Fundarisque

Fundarisque urbem, seu quod tuus accola muros
Heic posuit, nomenque Eleaea adjecit ab urbe.
Pisanos etiam plectro movet ille triumphos,
Et quos terra viros bellis navalibus, aptas
Quas tulit ista manus, felix nimis improba felix,
Si non finitimo fregisset jura Leoni,
Victrici tumefacta manu, rebusque secundis.
Namque Fluentinae socialia foedera genti
Abruptamque fidem, justisque hinc excita bellis
Pectora, et armatas Deus addit in ordine turmas,
Excidiumque urbis quanto Deus hic tonat ore!
Quis modus in cithara! credas fera bella movere,
Vincula captivo rursumque imponere collo;
Nec procul his laudes, et facta referre suorum
Gaudet, et a Fesulis primae fundamina terrae,
Antiquos fasces, et relligionis honores;
Hinc memorare viros, inter quos, Maxime, primus,
Cosme, venis, teque innumeris cum laudibus offers,
Templorum, Patriaeque Pater, te curia felix,
Te duce libertas populis, cultusque Deorum
Crevere, et priscis demissa altaria Thuscis.
Proh vanae mentes hominum! te civicus error
Jussit ab emeritis patriae discedere tectis;
Sed Dii quam melius! vix in se vertitur annus,
Vix Janos videre duos, quum teque, tuosque
Indiga gens Cosmi, patrias revocavit ad aras.
Sic etiam immeritum damnavit Roma Camillum,
Acrisioneis illumque reduxit ab oris;
Sic sponte ingratos effugit Scipio cives,
Ultoresque suo titulos dedit ille sepulcro.
Scilicet hoc etiam timuit Florentia, neve
In mare tam turpi flueres languentibus undis,
Arne, nota, aequoreis et ne vox ista nataret
Fluctibus, emeritos cineri persolvit honores,
Et dignam posuit titulis sulcantibus urnam.
Haec tibi, Cosme, Deus, fessosque ex aggere laudum
Conciliat nervos, junctaque retemperat aure;
Mox vestri canit acta libens mitanda parentis,

Et

Nº LVIII.

Et vos, o gemini Medices, certissima Thuscis
Sidera, olorini referensque ingentia furti
Pignora, fraternum vobis inspirat amorem,
Et tibi, Laurenti, rerum concessit habenas,
Cui major de more dies, et firmior aetas
Exemplis urit mentes; inceptaque suadet
Tanta sequi, atque animum patrios accendit ad actus.
Numquam ille adversos ferro saevibat in hostes,
Nulla cruentatis edebat funera dextris,
Sed mitis, simplexque animus, semperque serena
Magnaque mens victo suadebant parcere civi.
Testis Pittus erit, tunc quum male gratus honoris
Per vos accepti, civilem movit Erynnim:
Nec tantum infirmae potuere in corpore vires,
Herculis auderet quin mente aequare labores.
Dum tali canit ore Deus, longeque vagatur
In virtute patris, teque altos urget ad aeus,
Vertitur ad cantus, semperque cadentia verba
In te, Laurenti, placidisque remurmurat undis
Arnus, et haec totos ad carmina porrigit amnes.
Accelerat Niobe, quae si lapis, attamen audit,
Nec magis illacrymat, gressus et cetera reddunt
Fila lyrae, sed ne superos rursum improba laedat,
Os tacet, et frustra conantem verba relinquunt.
Huc etiam quae te timuit, Polypheme, furentem,
Et pavet, adjunctis et adhuc se mergit in undis,
Cum sibi dilecto Galatea allabitur Aci.
Quin et vos Siculis mersae Syrenes in undis,
Quarum praedulci cantu scrutator aquarum
Aure soporata medium delapsus in aequor,
Surgitis, et victis ad cantus plauditis alis.
Scylla silet, rapidi ponunt ad carmina venti,
Et mitis natura feris, rabiemque luporum
Mulcet, et arctatas cohibet cava fistula malas.
Silva comas praebet, venit cum frondibus Echo,
Reddita voxque illi est, et fari posset, ad istas
Sed potius voces omni vult ore tacere.
Cornigeri nudam nec prendunt Dorida Panes,

Hos

Hos inter coetus plectri modulamine capta,
Adque tuum nomen versis Tritonia cristis,
LAURENTI, aethereae plaga qua candentior orae
Parte, nitet, labi visa est non Gorgonis atrae
Concutiens vultus, stillantiaque arma cruorem,
Sed Dea flaventes foliis pacalis olivae
Intertexta comas, laetis quas Gloris in hortis
Docta pinxit acu, summo de vertice in armos
Nunc lapsi ludunt flores, nunc frontis oberrans
Marginibus, tremulum medios internatat aurum,
Multicoltor radiatque lapis, neve aura capillos
Spargeret, in nodum filis religaverat auri.
Sic Dea lapsa polo, laetis sic adstitit aris,
Stridentes dant signa foci, meliorque per urbem
Plausus abit; variis sparguntur floribus arces,
Et rebus mutatur honos, prius apta palaestrae,
Nocturnis melius nunc ardet oliva lucernis,
Quaeque erat undosas toties passura procellas,
Et factura vagis pontem super aequora nautis,
Fissilis edoctos abies aptatur ad usus.
Non tuba nunc, non castra movent, nec casside malas
Atterit, aut duros exercet Diva labores;
Laetior ingenuis sed se nunc artibus infert,
Certatusque virûm, et Medicis dignatur honores.
Ponite jam luctus, lamentaque tristia, Pisae,
Huc melior fortuna redit, veteremque malorum
Jam pensare juvat faciem; felicior aetas
His permissa locis, en mixto hinc inde tumultu
Facundo innumerae miscentur milite pugnae;
Vobis longus honos, nec enim dilecta Minervae
Ulla magis tellus, hac permutaret Athenas,
Si starent, numquamque aliis habitabit in oris,
Deque ullis capiet non thura libentius aris.
Vivite, et in longas aevum traducite metas,
Neve Fluentinas umquam mutetis habenas,
Nobile servitium magno parere Leoni est.
At vos, o juvenes, quorum praecordia pulcrae
Laudis inardescunt cumulis, et per vaga mundi

Nº LVIII.

Nubila sidereos conscendere quaeritis axes,
His mecum properate choris, gratesque feramus
Usque meo MEDICI, rebus venerandaque multis
Tu Pallas, superis et qui regnatis in oris,
Vos virides, Stygiique omnes, quique antra tenetis,
Et silvas, et stagna Dei, Indigetesque, Laresque,
Vitales densate colos, dextramque tenete
Atropos, et juveni plenos extendite fusos.
Tuque omni dilecte Deo, de Pleiade nate,
Qui plectro majore sonas, hunc cantibus effer,
Hunc superis ostende tuis, laudumque suarum
Agmina cognatam, Cylleni, perfer ad Arcton.
Me quoque jam fessam, quique ad tua carmina victam
Pono chelym, sua facta doce, et pendentis ab ore
Usque tuo nostrae Libethridos instrue mentem.
Mox ego, Dive velis, tunc quum fidentior altis
Per mare curret aquis, flatuque vehetur amico
Cymba, coronatis lauro Peneide rostris,
Illi dona feram, et libamina prima dicabo.
Haec ego; tum casto risit Tritonia vultu,
Mentem fassa suam, risit qua parte fugatas
Adspexi nubes, oculisque recanduit aër.
Sic magis incussis, et prono vertice nervis,
Et subito motis Caducifer annuit alis,
Signaque de laeto fecere tonitrua caelo.

Nº LIX.

Laurentio de Medicis Florentiæ.

Angelus Politianus.

Nº LIX. MAGNIFICE Domine, &c. Mona Clarice sta bene, et così tucta questa brigata. Quì non sera ancora udito nulla del romore occorso, del quale ne ha per questo medesimo apportatore dato adviso ad me il Franco, che ci ha levata ogni sospitione, perchè ei siamo assai fondati in sulla sua lettera, che Mona Clarice dubitava non fussi la cosa più grave, et che voi de industria l' allegerissi. In somma è restata di buona voglia, et acquievit.

A noi

A noi non manca nulla; et solamente habbiamo passione delle molestie vostre, che sono pure troppe. Iddio ci adjuterà. Spes enim in vivis est, desperatio mortui. N° LIX.

Vorrebbe Mona Clarice, che quando costà non havessi troppo bisogno di Giovanni Tornabuoni, lo rimandassi in quà, che gli pare esser sola sanza epso, et per ogni rispetto gli pare sia a proposito la stanza sua quì.

Io attendo a Piero, e sollecitolo a scrivere; et in pochi dì credo vi scriverà, che voi vi maraviglierete, che habbiamo quà un maestro, che in quindici dì insegna a scrivere, et fa maraviglie in questo mestiero. E fanciulli s' attendono a vezzeggiare più che l' usato, et sono tutti rifatti. Iddio ajuti loro e voi. Piero non si spicca mai da me, o io da lui. Vorrei esservi a proposito in maggiori cose; ma poichè mi tocca questo, lo farò volentieri. Rogo tamen, ut aliquid aut litterarum aut nuntii huc perlatum iri cures, desque operam, ne quidquid est in me auctoritatis, patiaris exolescere, quo et puerum facilius in officio teneam, et meo munere, ut par est, defungar. Sed haec si commodum; sinminus, quod sors feret, feremus aequo animo. State di buona voglia, et fate buono animo, chè e grandi uomini si fanno nelle adversità. Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis. Raccomandomivi. Pistorii die 26. Augusti 1478.

Magnifice mi patrone. Desidero assai, che la Magnificentia Vostra non si sia turbata d' una mia li scripsi stamani dettatami dalla passione, la quale ho non d' altro, che di non potere havere patientia. Spero in bonam partem acceperis, rebusque nostris prospectum curabis.

Mona Clarice vi manda tre fagiani, et una starna. Dice ne habbiate cura, come ne venissimo da nemici: perchè non sà chi, o quale sia questo apportatore, il quale è il padre del ragazzo vostro, che ruppe la gamba, cavallaro di Pistoja.

Per costui vi mando e consiglj di Messer Bartolommeo Sozzini. Holli sollecitati a ogni hora, et trovato li scriptori; et elli ancora vi ha usata diligentia somma. Ma non si è potuto far più presto.

Nº LIX. Piero stà bene, et io li ho grandissima cura. Così tutti li altri sono sani. Governiamoci il meglio possamo, ma a me toccano tutte le botte, pure te propter Lybicae, &c.

Io aspetto con desiderio novelle, che la moria sia restata per il sospetto ho di voi, et per tornare a servire voi, che con voi volevo et credevomi stare. Ma poichè voi, o più tosto la mia mala sorte mi ha assegnato questo grado appresso di Vostra Magnificenza, lo sopporterò, quamvis durum nec levius fit, patientia. Raccomandomi a V. M. Pistorii die 24. Augusti 1478.

Magnifice mi Domine. Tutta questa vostra brigata sta bene: Piero studia così modice, et ogni dì andiamo a piacere per la terra: visitiamo questi horti, che ne è piena la città, et qualche volta la libreria di Maestro Zambino, che ci ho trovate parecchie buone cosette et in Greco et in Latino. Giovanni se ne va tutto il dì in sul cavallino, et tirasi drieto tutto questo popolo. Mona Clarice si porta molto bene: piglia però poco piacere, se non delle novelle buone si sentono di costà. Poco esce di casa. Non ci manca in effetto nulla. Non si accepta presenti, da insalate, fichi et qualche fiasco di vino, o qualche beccafico, o simili cose infuori. Questi ciptadini ci porterebbero acqua cogli orecchi; et da Andrea Panciatichi siamo trattati tanto amorevolmente, che tutti ci pare esserli obbligati. In effetto a ogni cosa di quà sa l'occhio. Et già si comincia a far buona guardia alle porte. Attendete ancora voi a darvi buon tempo, et vincere; et quando si può, venite a vedere questa vostra brigata, che vi aspetta a man giunte. Raccomandomi a V. M. Pistorii 31. Augusti 1478.

Magnifice Domine mi. Mona Clarice s'è sentita da hiersera in quà un poco chioccia: scrive lei a Mona Lucretia, che dubita di non si sconciare, o di non havere il male, che ebbe la donna di Giovanni Tornabuoni. Cominciò dopo cena a giacere in sul lettuccio. Stamani si levò del letto tardi. Desinò bene: et doppo desinare se tornata a giacere. Quì sono con lei queste donne de Panciatichi, che è molto intendente. Dicemi Andrea, che ella gli ha decto, che Mona Clarice non è sanza pericolo di sconciarsi. M' è paruto d'avvisarvi di tutto. Dicono però tutte queste donne, che credono non harà male. Lei a vederla non mostra altro segno di malata, nisi quod cubat, et quod paullo commotior est, quam consuevit.

Piero

Piero andò incontro stamattina a questo Signore, et fu il primo. Disse poche parole nella sentenza gli scrivete; et molto bene. El Signore solo mise innanzi, et così entrò in Pistoja. Mona Clarice gli presentò un bel mazzo di starne: stasera andremo a visitarlo alle 22. hore, che siamo hora a hore 19. Fe compagnia a Piero Giovanni Tornabuoni: et lui riprese le parole di Piero. Mostra questo Illmo Sig. secondo dicone questi sui, di venire con una voglia troppo grande di farsi honore, et di satisfare a cotesta Excelsa Signoria et maxime alla V. M. N° LIX.

Clarice vi manda non so quante starne gli sono state donate, poichè, presentò questo Signore. In starò intento a quanto seguirà; et in quello saprò, farò mio debito, e di tutto avviserò V. M. la quale Iddio conservi. Raccomandomivi. Pistorii die 7. Septembris 1478.

N° LX.

Angelus Politianus.

Magnificæ Dominæ Lucretiæ de Medicis Florentiæ.

MAGNIFICA Domina mea. Le novelle, che noi vi possiamo scrivere di quì, sono queste. Che noi habbiamo tanta acqua, et sì continua, che non possiamo uscir di casa, et habbiamo mutata la caccia nel giuoco di palla, perchè e fanciulli non lascino l' exercitio. Giuchiamo comunemente o la scodella o il savore o la carne, cioè che chi perde non ne mangi. E spesso spesso quando questi miei scolarî perdono, fanno un cenno a Ser Humido. Altro non cè che scrivervi per ora di nostre novelle. Io mi sto in casa al fuoco in zoccoli et in palandrano, che vi parrei la malinconia, se voi mi vedessi; ma forse mi pajo io in ogni modo, et non fo, nè veggo, nè sento cosa che mi dilecti, immodo mi sono accorato per questi nostri casi. Et dormendo et vegliando sempre ho nel capo questa albagia. Eravamo due dì fa tutti in su l' ale, perchè intendemo non esser costà più moria: hora tutti siamo rimasti basosi, intendendo, che pur va pizzicando qualche cosa. Quando siamo costà, habbiamo pur qualche refrigerio, quando non fussi mai altro se non vedere ritornare Lorenzo a casa. Quì tuttavia dubitiamo, et d' ogni cosa: et quanto a me vi prometto, che io affogo nell' accidia, in tanta N° LX.

N° LX. solitudine mi truovo. Dico solitudine, perchè Monsignore si rinchiude in camera accompagnato solo da pensieri, et sempre lo truovo addolorato, et inpensierito per modo, che mi rinfresca più la malinconia a essere con lui. Ser Alberto del Malerba tutto dì biascia ufficio con questi fanciulli: rimangomi solo, et quando sono restucco dello studio, mi do a razolare tra morie et guerre, et dolore del passato et paura dell' advenire; nè ho con chi crivellare queste mie fantasie. Non truovo quì la mia Mona Lucretia in camera, colla quale io possi sfogarmi, et muojo di tedio: quanto allegerimento ci habbiamo, sono le lettere di costà, cioè quelle del Malerba, che pur ci ha scripte a questi dì delle novelle; et sovi dire, che le scrive tutte buone per l' ordinario. Et noi per un poco ogni cosa ci crediamo, tanto habbiamo voglia che sieno vere. Ma si convertono pur poi in bozzachini queste susine. Nientedimeno quanto posso io per me, mi vo armando di buona speranza, et a ogni cosa m'appicco per non irne così al primo tratto in fondo.

Altro non ho che scrivervi. Raccomandomi a V. M. Ex Cafagiolo die 18. Decembris 1478.

N° LXI.

Làurentio Medici Florentiæ.

Clarice Ursini.

N° LXI. MAGNIFICE Conjux ec. Intendo costì la moria far danno più che l'usato. Quanto possono e prieghi di vostra donna et figliuoli vi exorto a dovervi guardare, et anche se possete con riguardo di quì venire a vedere queste feste, ci sarà consolatione. El tutto rimetto in vostra prudentia. Harei caro non essere in favola del Francho, come fu Luigi Pulci, nè che Messer Agnolo possa dire che starà in casa vostra a mio dispetto; et anche l' habbiate facto mettere in camera vostra a Fiesole. Sapete vi dissi, che se volevi che stessi, ero contentissima, e benchè habbia patito, che mi dica mille villanie, se è di vostro consentimento, sono patiente, ma non che lo possa credere. Credo bene che Ser Niccolò per voler fare pace con lui, me habbia tanto sollecitata. E fanciulli sono tutti sani, et hanno voglia di vedervi, et maxime io, che non ho altro struggimento che questo, habbiavi a star costì a questi tempi. Sempre a voi mi raccomando. In Cafaggiolo 28. Maii 1479.

Ricordi

N° LXII.

Ricordi di Lorenzo.

N° LXII. A Dì 19. di Maggio 1483. venne la nuova, che el Re di Francia per se medesimo aveva data la Badia di Fonte Dolce a Giovanni nostro. A dì 31. venne la nuova da Roma ch'el Papa gliel aveva conferita, et factolo abile a tenere benefizj sendo d'anni 7. che lo fece Protonotario. A dì 1. Giugno venne Giovanni nostro a Firenze dal Poggio, et io in sua compagnia; giunto quì fu cresimato da Monsig. nostro d'Arezzo, et datali la tonsura, et fu chiamato Mess. Giovanni. Feronsi le predette cerimonie in cappella di casa. La sera poi si tornò al Poggio. A dì 8. Giugno detto venne Jacopino corriere di Francia sulle 12. ore con lettere del Re, che haveva dato a Mess. Gio. nostro l'Arcivescovado di Hayx in Provenza, et a vespro fu spacciato el fante per Roma per questa ragione con lettere del Re di Francia al Papa et Card. di Macone, et al Co. Girolamo, che in quest'ora medesima se gli sono mandate per il Zenino corriere a Furlì. Dio mandi di bene. A dì 11. tornò el Zenino dal Co. con lettere al Papa et S. Giorgio, et spacciaronsi a Roma per la posta di Milano. Dio mandi di bene. In questo dì medesimo dopo messa in cappella di casa si cresimarono tutte le fanciulle di casa et fanciugli da M. Giovanni in fuori. A dì 15. a ore 6. di notte venne lettere da Roma, che il Papa faceva difficultà di dare l'Arcivescovado a Mess. Giovanni per la età, et subito si spacciò el fante medesimo al Re di Francia. A dì 20. venne nuova de Lionetto che l'Arcivescovo non era morto. A dì 1. Marzo 1484. morì l'Abate di Pasignano, et spacciossi una cavalcata per staffetta a Messer Gio. d'Antonio Vespucci Imbasciatore a Roma, che facessi opera col Papa della detta Abbadia per Messer Gio. nostro. A dì 2. se ne prese la tenuta col segno della Signoria per vigore della reservatione, che ne aveva fatta Papa Sixto a Mess. Giovanni confermata da Innocenzio nella gita di Piero nostro a Roma a dare ubbidienza.

N° LXIII.

Alexandri Braccii, descriptio Horti Laurentii Medicis.

Ad. Cl. Equitem Venetum Bernardum Bembum.

N° LXIII.

NE me forte putes oblitum, Bembe, laboris
Propositi nuper cum Meliore mihi,
Decrevi Medicum quaecumque legantur in horto
Scribere, quod Melior non queat ille tuus.
Prodeat in campum nunc, et se carmine jactet,
Namque mihi validas sentiet esse manus;
Cumque viro forti, cum bellatore tremendo,
Milite cum strenuo praelia saeva geret;
Victorique dabit victus vel terga potenti,
Me vocitans clarum magnanimumque ducem,
Vel captiva meos augebit praeda triumphos,
Afferet et titulos Crescia palma novos.
Nunc hortus qui sit Medicum placido accipe vultu,
Perlege nunc jussu carmina facta tuo;
Villa suburbanis felix quem continet arvis,
CARREGIO notum cui bene nomen inest.
Non fuit hortorum celebris tam gloria quondam
Hesperidum, jactet fabula plura licet.
Regis et Alcinoi, fortisque Semiramis horti
Pensilis, aut Cyrum quem coluisse ferunt,
Quam nunc est horti LAURENTIS gloria nostri,
Inclyta fama, decus, nomina, cultus honor,
Heic olea est pallens, Bellonae sacra Minervae,
Et Veneri myrtus, aesculus atque Jovi.
Heic tua frons est, qua sese Thirintius heros
Cinxit honoratum, populе celsa, caput.
Est etiam platanus vastis ita consita ramis,
Illius ut late protegat umbra solum.
Heic viridis semper laurus, gratissima Phoebo,
Qua meriti vates tempora docta tegunt.
Ante Mithridatis quam nondum Roma triumphum
Videret, hoc surgit hebanus ampla loco.

Heic

N° LXIII.

Heic piper, et machir, gariophilon, assaron, ochi,
Mellifluens nardum, balsama, myrrha, lothon,
Intubus est etiam, therebinthus, casia, cedron,
Heic et odoratus nobilis est calamus.
Tus quoque fert sacrum superis heic terra Sabaeum,
Fert cythisum, clarum laudibus Antiochi.
Est abies, pinus, buxus, viridisque cupressus,
Nascitur heic quercus, robora, taeda, larix.
Est suber, est cerrus, fagus, quin carpinus, ilex,
Fraxinus, et quidquid silva, nemusque ferunt.
Sunt ulmi, salices, dumi, fragilesque genistae,
Sambucusque levis, sanguineusque frutex.
Cornus, lentiscus, terrae quoque proxima fraga,
Praedulces siliquae, castaneaeque nuces.
Sunt et quae Romae dederat tua poma Lucullus,
Cerase, mora rubens, acida sorba, juglans,
Heic et Avellanae sunt appia mala, pyrumque
Omnigenum, ficus, persica, chrysomila.
Punica mala, et cotona, cidoneumque volemum,
Turbaque prunorum vix numeranda subit.
Vicia, panicumque, fabae, farrago, lupinum,
Pisa, cicer, milium, far, triticumque bonum,
Ervum, fasellus, lens, sisima, oriza, siligo,
Tiphae, similago, sunt aliae segetes;
Quin cucumis, melopepo, cucurbita longa, papaver,
Allia, caepa rubens, porraque cum raphanis,
Angurium, coriander, eruca, nepeta, et anesum,
Marubium triste est, asparagusque simul,
Serpillum, petroselinum, amarathus, onyx,
Beta, cicoreum, brassica, menta, ruta.
Quid dicam varias uvas, dulcesque liquores,
Quid mage sunt suaves nectare, melle, sapa?
Quid violas referam, celseminos bene olentes,
Quid niveas memorem purpureasque rosas?
Cur te, Bembe, moror? sunt hoc plantata sub horto,
Quidquid habent Veneti, Tuscia quidquid habet;
Pomorum species hoc omnis frondet in horto,
Hortus et hic olerum fert genus omne virens.

N° LXIII.

Heic florum poteris cunctorum sumere odores,
Heic si tu quaeras, omne legumen erit.
Haec nos pauca tibi de multis scripsimus, at quum
Plura voles, melius lumine cuncta leges;
Lustrabisque oculis excelsa palatia regum
Instar, et egregia quaeque notanda tuis.
Nam si cuncta velim perstringere versibus, o quam
Difficile; atque audax aggrederemur opus.

N° LXIV.

Instruzioni date a Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici.

Nella gita di Roma a dì 26. di Novembre 1484.

N° LXIV. PER Siena avrai solamente tre lettere di credenza, una a Messer Paolo di Gherardo, una a Messer Cristofano di Guido, e una a Messer Andrea Piccolomini, i quali essendo in Siena visiterai a casa loro, e date le lettere di credenza, mi raccomanderai alle Magnificenze loro, usando le medesime parole quasi a tutti e tre, et in questo effetto; che andando tu a Roma, vai a questi Ambasciatori, et avendo a passar per Siena, ti commessi visitassi le loro Magnificenze, alle quali avendo io affezione e reverenza, come a' padri, ho voluto conoschino ancor te, e ti conoschino in luogo di figliuolo, e possinti comandare in ogni tempo e luogo, come potre'io, perchè non altrimenti gli obbedirai, e che potendo loro disporre di tutte le facoltà, stato, e figliuoli mia, tale quale tu se', ti presenti loro come lor cosa, e così ne disponghino ad ogni loro beneplacito. In questi effetti userai le parole tue bene accomodate, naturali et non forzate, et non ti curare di parere a costoro troppo dotto, usando termini umani, dolci e gravi, e con costoro, e con ciascun altro.

Avrai la lista n' alcuni cittadini Sanesi, i quali avendo tempo, ancora visitai, usando le parole e gli effetti sopradetti, et offerendo me così ai tre di sopra, come agli altri per la conservazione del loro stato, per lo quale farei, come per lo mio proprio, massime perchè tutta la città nostra generalmente è in questa disposizione, offerendomi e raccomandandomi a ciascuno.

Ne'

Nº LXIV.

Ne' tempi e luoghi, dove concorreranno gli altri giovani degl' Imbasciatori, portati gravemente, e costumatamente, e con umanità verso gli altri pari tuoi, guardandoti di non preceder loro se fossino di più età di te, poichè per esser mio figliuolo, non sei però altro, che cittadino di Firenze, come sono ancor loro, ma quando poi parrà a Giovanni di presentarti al Papa separatamente, prima informato bene di tutte le cirimonie, che si usano, ti presenteria alla Sua Santità, et baciata la lettera mia che avrai di credenza al Papa, supplicherai, che si degni leggerla, e quando ti toccherà poi a parlare, prima mi raccomanderai a' piedi di Sua Beatitudine, e diragli, che io conosco molto bene, ch' era obbligo mio personalmente conferirmi a piedi di Sua Beatitudine, come feci alla Santissima memoria del Predecessore di quella; ma spero in quella per umanità sua mi averà per scusato, perchè in quel tempo, che andai a Roma, potevo lasciare a casa mio fratello, ch' era di qualità di poter supplire molto bene in mia assenza; al presente non posso lasciare a casa uomo di più età autorità, che sei tu, e però credo non sarebbe grato a Sua Santità, che io avessi preso partito di andarvi, ma che in mio luogo ho mandato te, non mi parendo di poter fare maggior segno del desiderio che avrei d' esser andato in persona. Ho mandato te oltre le altre ragioni, perchè tu cominci a buon'hora a conoscer la Sua Beatitudine per Padre e Signore, et abbi cagione di continuare in questa devozione più lungo tempo, nella quale nutrisco anco gli altri mia figliuoli, I quali non vorrei avere, quando non fossino di questa disposizione. Appresso farai intendere a Sua Santità, come io ho fermo proposito di non mi partir mai dai comandamenti di quella, perchè oltre all' essermi naturale la devozione della S. Sede Apostolica, a quella di Sua Beatitudine mi costringono molte ragioni et obbligationi, che insino quando era in minoribus la casa nostra aveva con la persona di quella: oltre di questo ho provato quanto danno mi sia stato il non avere avuto grazia col Pontefice passato, sebbene a me pare senza mia colpa aver sopportate molte persecuzioni, e piuttosto per altri mia peccati, che per altra ingiuria o offesa fatta alla Sua Santa memoria. Pura lascio questo al giudizio degli altri, e sia come si vuole, io sto in fermo proposito non solamente non offendere in alcuna cosa Sua Beatitudine, ma pensare il dì e la notte a tutte le cose, che stimi potergli esser grate: et così facendo spero l' allegrezza e contento, che ebbi dell' assunzione di Sua Beatitudine al Pontificato, doversi lungo tempo conservare in me, supplicando umilmente Sua Beatitudine, che si degni d'accettar me, e voi altri mia figliuoli, et ogni altra mia cosa per umili figliuoli et servitori suoi, et conservarci nella sua grazia, massime perchè io e

N° LXIV. voi ci sforzeremo con l' opere nostre farci ogni dì manco indegni della grazia di Sua Beatitudine.

Appresso farai intendere a Sua Santità, che avendogli tu raccomandato me, ti sforza l'amore di tuo fratello raccomandargli ancor Messer Giovanni, il quale io ho fatto Prete, e mi sforzo e di costumi e di lettere nutrirlo in modo, che non abbia da vergognarsi fragli altri. Tutta la speranza mia in questa parte è in Sua Beatitudine, la quale avendo cominciato a fargli qualche dimostrazione, per sua umanità e clemenza, d' amore, e che noi siamo nella sua grazia, supplicherai si degni continuare per modo, che alle altre obbligazioni della casa nostra verso la Sede Apostolica s' aggiunga questo particolare di Messer Giovanni per i benefizj che avrà da S. Beatitudine, ingegnandoti con queste et altre parole raccomandarglielo, e metterglielo in grazia più che tu puoi; e questo mi pare che basti col Papa. Harai mie lettere di credenza per tutti i Cardinali, le quali darai o no secondo parrà a Giovanni. In genere a tutti mi raccomanderai, e dirai come tu se' ito a Roma, perchè oltre alla servitù mia, Loro Reverendissime Signorie conoschino in chi ha a continovare la servitù di casa nostra, e possinti comandare et usare, come possono tutte l' altre mie cose, offerendoti ec. Questo farai con tutti generalmente, ma in specie cogl' infrascritti quel più che dirò appresso. e prima,

Col Cardinale Visconti dirai, che quando mai non fossi Cardinale, la casa nostra ha obbligationi antique e naturali con tutta la sua Illustrissima casa, e che tu te gli dai a conoscere per mio figliuolo, naturale Sforzesco, e vero servitore di Sua Signoria Reverendissima, e con queste condizioni ti comandi sempre, e domesticamente ti tratti, et abbi per suo servitore, che così nascon tutti quegli di casa nostra.

Col Cardinale d'Aragona dirai che avendo io tutta la mia speranza e fede nella Maestà del Re suo padre, il debito tuo, come mio figliuolo è di presentarti a Sua Sig. Reverendissima, e dartegli per servitore ancora per particolare obbligo che abbiamo con Sua Signoria Rma. e che tu e gli altri mia figliuoli oltre a molti altri benefizj ricevuti dalla Maestà del Re, non dimenticherete mai quello dell' onore, che mi fece a Napoli ultimamente, e dell' avermene rimandato a casa nel modo che fece, e che tu pensi molto bene, che condizioni erano quelle di voi altri mia figliuoli, quando fossi seguito altro, e però per quest' obbligo massimamente Sua Rma. Signoria e tutti gli altri figliuoli della

della Maestà del Re possino venderti & impegnarti, e farne in effetto come di lor cosa. Nº LXIV.

Col Cardinale Orsino dirai, ch' io t' ho mandato là, perchè vegga come le piante di casa loro provino ne' terreni nostri, e che frutti ci fanno, e che tal qual sono, ne mando le primizie a Sua Signoria Rma. e sebbene tu non sei degno figliuolo di casa Orsina, pure, come tu sei, vuoi essere servitore di Sua Signoria Rma. alla quale come a capo della casa ti presenti pronto e disposto in quel che potrai in tutta la vita tua, a pagar l' obbligo, che hai con quella inclita casa, il quale non può esser maggiore, avendo tu avuto da quella l' essere, e per questa medesima ragione ti par dovere impetrare da Sua Signoria Rma. come capo ec. e che abbia ad aver cura di te, e tenerti le mani addosso, perchè dell' onore & incarico tuo non ne harebbe per manco parte S. R. S., che io tuo padre, raccomandogli la Clarice, e tutti gli altri tuoi fratelli e sirocchie, ec.

Con quei Cardinali, che per qualche capo fossero parenti di casa Orsina, come credo sia Savelli, Conti, e Colonna, userai qualche parola più domestica, mostrando che oltre agli altri obblighi, che intendo io avere con loro Rme. Signorie, è questo, che Dio ci ha fatto grazia, che siamo parenti delle loro inclite case, la qual cosa reputiamo tra' maggiori ornamenti della casa nostra. A Monsignore nostro l' Arcivescovo di Firenze mostrerai tutta questa istruzione prima che cominci ad eseguirla in alcun luogo; la quale secondo l' età tua è molto breve, e questo nasce perchè ho speranza, che Sua Signoria supplirà, come meglio informata e più prudente, certificandola, che io non dico questo per cerimonie, ma pel vero, e però fa più e manco quello che ti dirà Sua Signoria, come se io proprio te lo dicessi. Ad ogni modo visiterai tutti quei Signori di casa Orsina che fossero in Roma usando ogni riverente termine, & raccomandandomi a Loro Signorie, & offerendoti per figliuolo e servitor loro, poichè loro si sono degnati, che noi siamo loro parenti, del qual obbligo tu sei quello, che n' hai la maggior parte per essere tanto più degnamente nato, e però ti sforzerai giusta tua possa di pagarlo almanco con la volontà. Io ti mando con Giovanni Tornabuoni, il quale in ogni cosa hai ad obbedire, nè presumere di far cosa alcuna senza lui, e con lui portandoti modestamente, & umanamente con ciascuno, e soprattutto con gravità, alle quali cose ti debbi tanto più sforzare, quanto l' età tua lo comporta manco. E poi gli onori e carezze, che ti saranno fatte, ti sarebbon d' un gran pericolo, se tu non ti temperi, e ricordati spesso chi tu sei. Se

Guglielmo

N° LXIV. Guglielmo o i suoi figliuoli o nipoti venissero a verderti, vedigli gratamente, con gravità però e modo, mostrando d' aver compassione delle loro condizioni, e confortandogli a far bene, e sperar bene facendolo. Se paresse a Monsig. nostro Arcivescovo, che tu ti trasferissi in qualche luogo fuora di Roma per visitare qualche Signore di casa Orsina, puoi farlo, & ubbidire Sua Signoria in questa & in ogni altri cosa, come dico di sopra, non altrimenti che facessi a me proprio. A Guglielmo dirai, che avendogli scritto la Bianca a stanza mia e di Bernardo Rucellai, che vogli compiacergli del Canonicato di Pisa per poter fare certa commutazione a suo proposito, sia contento farlo, offerendogli Bernardo massime di salvarlo, e sicurarlo in quel miglior modo che saprà chiedere, stringendolo poi con le parole a questo effetto.

N° LXV.

Ad Archangelum Vicentinum Patrem et Concanonicum.

Quanto ordine Joannes Medices Cardinalatûs accepit insignia.

Nº LXV. MAXIMUS annus videri tibi potest, ex quo ad te nil scripsi, Pater Archangele: et me quidem negligentiæ atque torporis etiam accuso, ut facilius veniam a te promerear: quam si non dederis, neque censuram tam formido, quam amo amicissimam et æquissimam tuam. Meo tamen ex animo effluere nunquam sane potuit, neque ullo tempore poterit sancta et suavissima recordatio tui, etsi pepercerim calamo tam diu, nulla se mihi offerente vel occasione, vel causa scribendi. Verum me dormientem excivit res modo, quam (ut puto) tu libenter Archangele sis auditurus: qui non parvam vitæ partem egisti Fesulis, et inclytam Mediceorum familiam excoluisti, illis prope vernaculus, semperque charissimus. Res plane hæc est, ut tibi aliquanto notescant, quæ sunt apud nos acta quo die Joannes Medices, Laurentii magni filius, Cardinalatûs accepit insignia: cujus rei ordinem, mysteria, plausus, publicam lætitiam, liberalem impensam, lauta ambitiosaque convivia enumerare, atque describere facundissimi Oratoris, vel Historici opus utique sit, sed grandiloquo æque Poetæ res tanta convenerit. Ego ingenue fateor, me a tanto facinore vinci, qui etiam si velim, neque rei illustrandæ satis possem operæ, temporisque navare, sacris quadragesimæ sanctæ mysteriis in aliud me revocantibus. Verum enimvero in breviarum quoddam potiora attamen stringam, ne palatum incassum tibi exacuerim. Cum itaque Joannes hic Medices quintumdecimum ætatis annum tantum agens Cardinalis declaratus

ratus est, tum Pontifex et sacri Patres voluerunt impuberem illum tanti ordinis administratione insignibusque ad triennium usque carere: quo tantisper et moribus et doctrinis coalesceret, atque proficeret, et virtute ac sapientia mactus, tanto fastigio, tantarumque rerum susceptione dignus evaderet. Venit, Deo illum servante, optatus hic dies, plenitudoque triennii. Susceptturus itaque hæc ornamenta, quæ diximus, Pallium scilicet, Biretum, ardentem Pilleum, desponsationis Annulum, pridie quam talibus iniciaretur, ad nos post meridiem Fesulas conscendit, parvo suorum admodum comitatu, et humili, ac simplici cultu. Postridie affuit mane Joannes Picus Mirandula noster, et Jacobus Salviatus Cardinalis Sororius, ac Simeon Staza notarius: cum quibus hora diei circiter sexta di cubiculo egressus sacer adolescens templum intravit. Ubi primum in Virginis laudem (Sabbatum enim erat, dies Virgini vetere religione dicatus) ritu cantuque solenni agi cœpit ea res sacra, quam vulgo dicimus Missam: in qua cum prius sacrosanctum ego Domini corpus sanguinemque libassem, tum ille ante Aram in genua flexus concommunicavit singulari humilitate, et quantum agnosci poterat devota quidem mente, et erecta semper in Deum. Peracta re sacra vestimenta mox a me quoque sunt benedicta: postea vero sublata manu bullam, breveque Pontificis Maximi tenens, illum hunc in modum affatus equidem sum. Quod tibi ecclesia sanctæ Dei patriæ, Generique tuo fœlix salutareque sit, hodie Joannes Medices decursum est triennium Cardinalatui tuo per hanc bullam, breveque præfixum. Legant qui volunt. Servata sunt omnia: de quibus tu Simeon publicam tabellam, testimoniumque conficito. Subinde pallio a me inductus est, ita precante, Induat te Deus novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justicia et sanctitate veritatis. Biretum denique, Galerum, Annulumque porrexi his rursum cum verbis, Hæc sunt decora dignitatis sublimis tuæ a Sede apostolica tibi tradita atque concessa: quibus quamdiu vixeris, ad Dei laudem, tuique salutem utinam semper utare. Quibus ita peractis Hymnum, Veni creator spiritus, canoris vocibus ante Aram Fratres cecinere. Postremo quantam Cardinalis singulus potest, indulgentiam elargitus astantibus, et eandem visitantibus altare eodem die quot annis, rediit nobiscum in domum. Paulo post prandium Petrus frater cum paucis en affuit, delatus sonipede miræ ferocitatis, ac magnitudinis, auratis bracteis quaque fulgente. A porta interea Sancti Galli, qua itur Fesulas, tanta effusa equitum ac peditum manus, ut plena undique via nulli contra in urbem eunti transitum cederet. Quæ omnis multitudo sistere jussa est ad Munionis pontem, nec datum ulli quidem cis pontem, amnemque transire. At vero rebus cæteris ex constituto dispositis, descendit ille cum

N° LXV. cum fratre, trajectoque flumine exceptus est medius inter Pontifices, Prothonotarios, alios prælatos, ac primores urbis cives, et ambitiosissima pompa deductus in urbem per viam majorem, quæ ad ædes ducit suas. Qui cum pervenisset ad Virginis Nuntiatæ basilicam, mula descendens, ad illius humiliter se constravit aram, pro se orans voce summissa. Inde ad Divæ Liparatæ templum profectus pari modo sic est opem gratiamque precatus: Denique in lares se recepit quos habitat suos. Ubi ferme tota in unum conspecta est civitas ita frequens ut non via modo, sed fenestræ et tecta ipsa vix caperent prospectantes. In sequentem vero noctem jugis in plateis, inque turribus et pinnis ignes collucentes illuminarunt veluti diem, et conclamantium vocibus omnifariisque tinnitibus, atque crepitibus æther semper insonuit, ut obliti sint homines somnos hac tanta lætitia, inspectumque sit quanti faciat Reipublicæ servatorem et columen gratissima civitas. Hæc dixisse extempore sit mihi satis: seriem alius copiosius ornatiusque conscripserit. Vale atque ora ut ista sint fausta. Fesulis pridie idus Martias.

N° LXVI.

Lorenzo de' Medici Padre.

A Messer Giovanni de' Medici Card.

N° LXVI. MESS. Giovanni: Voi sete molto obbligato a Mess. Domenedio, e tutti noi per rispetto vostro, perchè oltra a molto beneficj & honori, che ha ricevuti la casa nostra da lui, ha fatto che nella persona vostra veggiamo la maggior dignità, che fosse mai in casa; & ancora che la cosa sia per se grande, le circostantie la fanno assai maggiore, massime per l' età vostra & conditione nostra. Et però il primo mio ricordo è, chi vi sforziate esser grato a M. Domenedio, ricordandovi ad ogn' hora, che non i meriti vostri, prudentia o sollecitudine, ma mirabilmente esso Iddio v' ha fatto Cardinale, & da lui lo riconosciate, comprobando questa conditione con la vita vostra santa, esemplare & honesta, a che siete tanto piu obbligato per havere voi già dato qualche opinione nella adolescentia vostra da poterne sperare tali frutti. Saria cosa molto vituperosa, & fuor del debito vostro & aspettatione mia, quando nel tempo, che gli altri sogliono acquistare più ragione & miglior forma di vita, voi dimenticaste il vostro buono instituto. Bisogna adunque, che vi sforziate alleggerire il peso della dignità, che portate, vivendo costumatamente

mente, et perseverando nelli studj convenienti alla professione vostra. L' anno passato io presi grandissima consolatione, intendendo, che senza che alcuno ve lo ricordasse, da voi medesimo vi confessaste più volte et communicaste; nè credo, che di sia miglior via a conservarsi nella gratia di Dio, che lo abituarsi in simili modi, et perseverarvi. Questo mi pare il più utile et conveniente ricordo che per lo primo vi posso dare. Conosco che andando voi a Roma, che è sentina di tutti i mali, entrate in maggior difficultà di faro quanto vi dico di sopra, perchè non solamente gli esempj muovono, ma non vi mancheranno particolari inoitatori et corruttori, perchè, come voi potete intendere, la promotione vostra al Cardinalato per l' età vostra, et per le altre conditioni sopradette, arreca seco grande invidia, et quelli, che non hanno potuto impedire la perfetione di questa vostra dignità, s' ingegneranno sottilmente diminuirla, con denigrare l' opinione della vita vostra, et farvi sdrucciolare in quella stessa fossa, dove essi sono caduti, confidandosi molto debba lor riuscire per l' età vostra. Voi dovete tanto più opporvi a queste difficultà quanto nel Collegio hora si vede manco virtù: et io mi ricordo pure havere veduto in quel Collegio buon numero d' huomini dotti et buoni, e di santa vita: però è meglio seguire questi esempj, perchè facendolo, sarete tanto più conosciuto et stimato, quanto l' altrui conditioni vi distingueranno dagli altri. E' necessario che fuggiate, come Scilla et Cariddi, il nome della hipocrisia, et come la mala fama,-et che usiate mediocrità sforzandovi in fatto fuggire tutte le cose, che offendono in dimostrazione, et in conversatione, non mostrando austerità, o troppa severita; che sono cose, le quali col tempo intenderete et farete meglio a mia opinione, che non le posso esprimere. Voi intenderete di quanta importanza et esempio sia la persona d' un Cardinale, et che tutto il mondo starebbe bene se i Cardinali fussino come dovrebbono essere; perciocchè farebbono sembre un buon Papa, onde nasce quasi il riposo di tutti i Christiani. Sforzatevi dunque d' essere tale voi, che quando gli altri fussin così fatti, se ne potesse aspettare questo bene universale. Et perchè non è maggior fatica, che conversar bene con diversi huomini, in questa parte vi posso mal dar ricordo, se non che v' ingegnate, che la conversatione vostra con gli Cardinali et altri huomini di conditione sia caritativa et senza offensione; dico misurando ragionevolmente, et non secondo l' altrui passione, perchè molti volendo quello che non si dee, fanno della ragione ingiuria. Giustificate adunque la conscientia vostra in questo, che la conversatione vostra con ciascuno sia senza offensione; questa mi pare la regola generale molto a proposito vostro, perchè quando la passione

N° LXVI.

Nº LXVI. pur fa qualche inimico, come si partono questi tali senza ragione dall' amicitia, così qualche volta tornano facilmente. Credo per questa prima andata vostra a Roma sia bene adoperare più gli orecchi che la lingua. Hoggimai io vi ho dato del tutto a M. Domenedio, et a S. Chiesa; onde è necessario, che diventiate un buono Ecclesiastico, et facciate ben capace ciascuno, che amate l' onore et stato di S. Chiesa, et della Sede Apostolica innanzi a tutte le cose del mondo, posponendo a questo ogni altro rispetto; nè vi mancherà modo con questo riservo d' ajutare la città et la casa; perchè per questa città fa l' unione della Chiesa, et voi dovete in ciò essere buona catena, et la casa ne va colla città. Et benchè non si possono vedere gli accidenti che verranno, così in general credo, che non ci habbiano a mancare modi di salvare, come si dice, la capra e i cavoli, tenendo fermo il vostro primo presupposto, che anteponiate la Chiesa ad ogni altra cosa. Voi siete il più giovane Cardinale non solo del Collegio, ma che fusse mai fatto infino a qui; et però è necessario, che dove havete a concorrere con gli altri, siate il più sollecito, il più humile, senza farvi aspettare o in Cappella o in Concistoro o in Deputazione. Voi conoscerete presto gli più e gli meno accostumati. Con gli meno si vuol fuggire la conversatione molto intrinseca, non solamente per lo fatto in se, ma per l' opinione, a largo conversare con ciascheduno. Nelle pompe vostre loderò più presto stare di quà dal moderato che di là; et più presto vorrei bella stalla et famiglia ordinata et polita, che ricca et pomposa. Ingegnatevi di vivere accostumatamente, riducendo a poco a poco le cose al termine, che per essere hora la famiglia et il padron nuovo non si può. Gioje e seta in poche cose stanno bene a pari vostri. Più presto qualche gentilezza di cose antiche et belli libri, et più presto famiglia accostumata et dotta che grande. Convitar più spesso che andare a conviti, nè però superfluamente. Usate per la persona vostra cibi grossi, et fate assai esercitio; perchè in cotesti panni si viene presto in qualche infermità, chi non ci ha cura. Lo stato del Cardinale è non manco sicuro che grande; onde nasce che gli huomoni si fanno negligenti, parendo loro haver conseguito assai, et poterlo mantenere con poca fatica, et questo nuoce spesso et alla conditione et alla vita, alla quale è necessario che abbiate grande avvertenza; et più presto pendiate nel fidarvi poco, che troppo. Una regola sopra l' altre vi conforto ad usare con tutta la sollecitudine vostra; et questa è di levarvi ogni mattina di buona hora, perchè oltra al conferir molto alla sanità, si pensa et espedisce tutte le faccende del giorno, et al grado che havete, havendo a dir l' ufficio, studiare, dare audientia ec. ve 'l trovarete molto utile. Un' altra cosa ancora è sommamente

mente necessaria a un pari vostro, cioè pensare sempre, et massime in questi principii, la sera dinanzi, tutta quello che havete da fare il giorno seguente, acciocchè non vi venga cosa alcuna immeditata. Quanto al parlar vostro in Concistorio, credo sarà più costumatezza, et più laudabil modo in tutte le occorrenze, che vi si proporranno, riferirsi alla Santità di N. S. causando, che per essere vol giovane, et di poca esperientia, sia più ufficio vostro rimettervi alla S. S. et al sapientissimo giuditio di quella. Ragionevolmente voi sarete richiesto di parlare et intercedere appresso a N. S. per molte specialità. Ingegnatevi in questi principj di richiederlo manco potete, et dargliene poca molestia, che di sua natura il Papa è più grato a chi manco gli spezza gli orecchi. Questa parte mi pare da osservare per non lo infastidire; et così l' andargli innanzi con cose piacevoli, o pur quando accadesse, richiederlo con humiltà et modestia doverà sodisfargli più, et esser più secondo la natura sua. State sano: di Firenze. Nº LXVI.

Nº LXVII.

Laurentio de' Medicis Florentiæ.

Servitor Stephanus. Fabr. v. ii. p. 296.

MAGNIFICO Lorenzo. Per un' altra mia scrittavi hiersera la M. V. harà inteso l' ordine si tenne hiermattina quì all' entrare di Madonna Duchessa. Per questa vi ho da significare come questa mattina si è fatto el sponsalitio, et udito la Messa del congiunto nel Duomo; è stato una bellissima et dignissima cerimonia, come quì appresso intenderà la M. V. In prima si fece codunare tutta la Corte et gentilhuomini in Castello. Dipoi alle 15. hore il Sig. Duca, il Sig. Messer Lodovico, et tutti li altri Baroni et Signori ci sono, andarono a levare Madonna Duchessa di camera et ognuno montò subito a cavallo, et inviatosi fuori di Castello a coppia, all' ultima porta era uno baldachino di damaschino bianco con l' arma del Sig. el quale fu portato da circa 40. dottori, tutti vestiti di raso chermisi et scarlatto con certi letitii al collo, et la berretta era madesimamente con una piega di letitii. Il Sig. Duca, et la Exc. di Madonna entrorno sotto detto baldachino, et così ne andorno di coppia insino al Duomo. Giunti là, si cantò la Messa co' cantori Nº LXVII.

Nº LXVII. del Sig., et il Vescovo di Piacenza la disse. Finita che fu, il Vescovo Sansoverino fece le parole molto accomodatamente. Dipoi il Sig. dette lo anello alla Exc. di Madonna. Fatte che furono tutte queste cose lo Illmo. Sig. Duca fece Cavaliere il nostro Piero Allamanni, et il Magnifico Mess. Bartolommeo Calcho: a Piero donò una vesta di broccato a oro ricca et bella quanto dir si possa, et lo acto è stato molto honorevole. Messer Galeazzo et il Conte di Cajaza li messero li speroni et cinsero la spada. Dipoi tutta la brigata montò a cavallo, et ritornossi a Castello con grandissima festa et triompho, et secondo il computo fatto da chi era presente vi si trovò de' cavalli 500. In prima vi fu annoverato 35 regole tra Frati e Preti, che andarono innanzi a tutta la corte insino al Duomo. 60. Cavalieri tutti vestiti di broccato a oro con le collane. 50 donne, 28 vestite di broccato a oro con perle, gioje et collane assai. 62 trombetti, 12. pifferi. Da Castello al Duomo sone 1200. passi, che di sopra era coperto di panni bianchi, et le mura da ogni banda coperte di tapezerie et con festoni di ginepro et mele arancie, che mai vedesti la più bella cosa. Di poi tutti li usci et finestre erano piene di fanciulle et donne vestite ricchissimamente, et per obviare al tumulto del popolo tutti e canti della strade, che mettevano in questa principale, dove s'andava, erano sbarrati, et alla guardia di ogni canto erano da dieci in dodici provisionati. In sulla piazza del Duomo stetter del continuo 200. stradiotti et balestrieri a cavallo: ogni cosa è ita molto ordinatamente in modo non è nato uno minimo scandalo, che è non piccola maraviglia per la grande et innumerabile multitudine, che è in questa città. E' vero che circa l'arme si è usato extrema diligentia per farle porre giù a ogni persona dalli nostri in fuori, che sempre l'hanno portate per tutto.

La Exc. del Duca havea in dosso una vesta di broccato a oro col riccio tanto ricca et bella quanto dire si possa; nella berretta havea una punta di diamante con una perla grossa più che una nocciuola tonda di grandissimo valore: al petto havea uno pendente con uno balasso, et di sopra uno diamante, cosa veramente excellentissima.

La Exc. di Madonna Duchessa era ancora lei vestita di broccato, et havea certa ghirlanda di perle in capo con certe gioje molto belle, et così vi era molte altre donne vestite ricchissimamente: non scrivo el nome loro per non lo sapere.

Messer

Messer Annibale havea una vesta di broccato a oro divisa con certe liste di velluto nero, et nella rimboccatura dinanzi al petto vi era un' aquila di perle che stava gentilmente, ma non era molto ricca, piuttosto si poteva chiamare polita. Il Sig. Lodovico et il Sig. Galeotto, et il Sig. Ridolfo con tutti questi altri Sforzeschi erano etiam vestiti di broccato, et i più si accordano ci sia stato de vestire da 300. in su, tra di argento et di oro. Di velluto et raso non vi dico nulla, perchè insino a chuochi ne erano vestiti. Nº LXVII.

La vesta del nostro Piero col broncone è suta tenuta cosa admiranda, et secondo il judicio mio ha abbattuto ogni altra. Hoggi questi Signori hanno mandato per epsa, et l' hanno voluta vedere, et molto bene examinare, et in effetto ognuno ne sta maravigliato. Io cognosco havere scripto confuso et senza ordine: a bocca poi, piacendo a Dio, suppliremo più diffusamente et con maggiore otio, che non posso fare al presente per havere a cavalcare a Corte con Piero. Altro non mi occorre. Raccomandomi sempre alla Magnificenza vostra. Mediolani die 2. Februarii 1488.

Nº LXVIII.

Angelus Politianus Laurentio Medici Patrono Suo S.

SAPIENTER ut cetera Laurenti facis: qui sanctos istos extremæ quadragesimæ dies consumere in Agnano tuo malueris, quam Florentiæ. Quis enim tutior portus, in quem de tantis occupationum fluctibus enates, quam tyrrheni litoris amœnissimus iste sinus atque secessus: ubi quasi quoddam naturæ certamen sit, et gratiæ. Sed ego quoque, imitatus exemplum, ceu fugitivus urbis, assiduus in Fesulano fui, cum Pico Mirandula meo, Cœnobiumque illud ambo regularium Canonicorum frequentavimus, avi tui sumptibus extructum. Quin Abbas in eo Matthæus Bossus, Veronensis, homo sanctis moribus, integerrimaque vita, sed et litteris politioribus mire cultus, ita nos humanitate sua quadam tenuit, et suavitate sermonis, ut ab eo digressi mox, Ego et Picus, soli propemodum relicti (quod antea fere non accidebat) nec esse alter alteri jam satis videremur. Hoc ille arbitror sentiens Nº LXVIII.

N° LXVIII. tiens Dialogum nobis a se compositum de salutaribus animi gaudiis obtulit, quasi vicarium, cujus materia stilusque nos ita cepit, ut quam diu quidem legebamus, facile auctoris præsentia careremus. Eum igitur ego Dialogum mitto ad te quoque Laurenti, quem subter pineta ista legas, ad aquæ caput. Delectaberis arbitror argumento, sensibus, indole, nitore, varietate, copia: nec in eo tamen domesticas quoque laudes desiderabis. Ac si tuis huc etiam accesserit calculus, dabitur opera protinus, ut in multa liber exemplaria transfundatur. Vale.

N° LXIX.

Matthæi Bossi ad Laur. Medicem.

De transmisso Dialogo, Epist.

N° LXIX. DE quo Politianus noster scripsit ad te inclyte Medices, Dialogus noster impressus est quem ego edidi quo anno Cosmus Paternus tuus Avus ad superna sublatus terris excessit. Inde ille ad hæc tempora usque obscurus jacuit, et nisi religiosis hominibus nostris ulli vix cognitus. Refrixerat nam me calor ille et primus amor, qui quemque afficit ut sua initia præmaturosque labores amet etiam immodice, cum is interea ita dimissus sua veluti sponte se tollens perfugit in sinum Io. Pici Mirandulæ, et ejus Politiani quem dixi, qui præclarum sibi ocium et a frequenti turba recessum nostro sacro in Fesulano sæpe captabant: Viri ambo admirandæ doctrinæ atque virtutis, et studiosissimi splendoris et magnitudinis tuæ, quinetiam neque mihi non dediti; qui opus complexi hospitioque dignati non antea destiterunt et curare et agere, quam uno ex stipite sexcenti vel surculi ducti; quorum unus imprimis tibi Laurenti destinandus fuit faustiore tanquam auspicio. Cujus frons hilaris sublandietur primum forsitan tibi cum titulum audies De veris et salutaribus animi gaudiis. Deinde cum rimari perexeris corpus et membra deprehendes ubi solidæ inanisque lætitiæ fines sint positi; Teque ipsum adhuc peregrinantem a cælo interque vitæ mortalis erumnas fluitantem ut puto, solabere recte factorum et fœlicissimi ac sempiterni ævi prægustata lætitia, si tamen res tanta a me potuit perpoliri satis ac illustrari. In quo neque modestissimi et pii animi tui censuram vereor quem sincera albaque veritas delectare magis quidem solet, quam fucus et falera. Ex his itaque illum quem

tibi

tibi transmittimus lautius cultum gratioremque indole non dedignabere Laurenti suscipere; cui hic ludus est, et Avitus et proprius, ut magna largiri; sic nec parva oblata contemnere. Regum profecto opus, si non Dei magis, cui tuenti moderantique omnia, ut sane possunt, debent reges et amplissimi viri esse persimiles. Vale lætus Deo ac patriæ vive. Nº LXIX.

Nº LXX.

Petrus Bonus Avogarius Artium Medicinæ Doctor.

Laurentio Medici Florentiæ.

MAGNIFICE ac potens domine, domine mi singularissime salutem perpetuam, &c. Io ho receputo una lettera di V. M. dal Magnifico Messer Aldovrandino Oratore del Duca di Ferrara, et ho inteso quanto me scrive V. Exc. sopra el facto del remedio desidera havere perfecto in doloribus juncturarum, particularizzando la cosa, quando e come, &c. Dico, che primo et ante omnia V. M. deve fare qualche purgatione innanti la primavera, cioè innanti sia mezzo Marzo, et poi se quella sentisse qualche movimento di doglia, se unza con quella unzione facta segondo el modo chio scripsi a Mes. Aldovrandino, el quale a V. M. appresente la ricepta; facto questo cesserà la doja, quando venisse, et non vegnendo, puote aliquando pigliare qualche medicina che purgasse la materia peccante. La medicina mia si è uno confecto facto in forma solida descriptione mesue, che si chiama ellescof, et bisogna pigliarne mezza onza alla volta la mattina nel levare del sole, et fare cussì una volta el mexe, maxime quando V. Ex. sentisse qualche doglia. Per fare autem, che non ritorni, bisogna havere una preda, che si chiama elitropia, e ligarla in anello di oro in modo, che tucchi la carne, e bisogna portare nel dito anulare della man stanca; fazendo questo non retornerà mai la doglia arctetica, o podagrica, perchè ha proprietate occulta et a forma specifica, strenze li humori non vadino alle zonture; ego autem hoc expertus sum in me. Et enim divina res et miraculosa. Post hoc interim retrovarò in questa està del mese de Agosto el celidonio, che è una preda rossa, che nasce nel ventre della rondana, e mandarollo a V. M. che el ligherà in panno di lino, et cuseralo sotto la sena stancha al zipone, che tucchi la camisa, et farà Nº LXX.

Nº LXX. farà simile operatione come fa la preda elitropia antedicta, et cussì, Deo Duce, V. M. sarà libera e sicura da ogni dolore de zonture. In questo proposito Messer Aldovrandino etiam parlerà, cum V. M. et informera quella ad plenum. Azò che V. Exc. intenda de cose molte future, li mando el juditio mio dell' anno 1488. ligato cum la presente, et arecomandome mille volte alla Exc. V. la quale Dio conservi in stato felicissimo. Ex Ferrara die 11. Febr. 1488.

Nº LXXI.

Laurentio de' Medicis.

Ludovicus et Chechus Ursius.

Nº LXXI. MAGNIFICO et colendissimo Laurentio nostro; siamo certi che la M. V. prima che ora sarà stato advisato della morte di questo iniquo et maledetto, non voglio dire N. S. che non meritava essere. Ma per satisfare in parte al debito nostro, benchè prima non se sia possuto, ciè parso, considerato la temeraria sua presuntione et bestialità, che habbi havuto tanto ardire, che se sia voluto inbrattare nel sangue di quella Magnifica et Excelsa Casa vostra, significarli la crudele morte, che li habbiamo fatto fare, et meritamente. La M. V. sappia come questo tiranno ultra la famiglia sua di casa tenea cento provisionati. Iddio ci ha inspirati in modo, che non extimando periculo alcuno, quantunche li fosse grandissimo, et cie siamo mossi cum una firmissima deliberatione o de non tornare a casa, o veramente d' eseguire quanto habbiamo facto, che considerando la grandissima guardia, che questo iniquo tenea, et non essere stato noi più che 9. persone ad fare questo effecto, lo accusamo piuttosto ad una cosa divina che humana, como può conjecturare la M. V. che exceptandone epso maledetto, et uno baricello di sua natura, non si è sparso pure una goccia di sangue; cosa da non credere. Questa Comunità non se poteria ritrovare de miglior voglia, et non poteria essere meglio unita insieme de quello è. Habbiamo voluto significare tutte queste cose alla M. V. perchè quella grandemente è stata offesa, et siamo certi ne haverà singular piacere. Nui non poteressimo mai significare a quella li soi portamenti, ma per declararne in parte, sappia come non solamente non amava li soi cittadini,

ma

ma non faceva exstima nè di Dio nè de' Santi: era bevitore del sangue de' poveromini, non attendeva mai promessa alcuna, finalmente non se amava che se medesimo. Avea conducto questa terra in una extrema necessità, et in modo che appena ci restava el fiato. Tandem è piaciuto all' Omnipotente Iddio liberare questo nostro populo di mano di questo Nerone, et quello che volea fare a nui altri, Iddio ce lo ha prima facto fare sopra il capo suo, che non poteva più sustinere tante insidie et malignità, quanto in epso regnava. Li soi mali portamenti, et per amore della M. V. della quale siamo servitori, et per il bene della Repubblica, et per il nostro proprio interesse, habbiamo facto questo, che habbiamo liberato questo nostro populo dallo inferno. Pertanto preghiamo la M. V. che in questo nostro bisogno ci voglia prestare quello adjuto et favore, che speramo nella M. V. cum consiliarse quanto habbiamo ad fare in questo nostro bisogno, offerendoce alla M. V. per quanto vagliamo ad ogni suo beneplacito, farli cosa grata. Ricomendiamo di continuo a quella, quae bene valeat. N° LXXI.

Et ad ciò che in tutto quella resti satisfacta l' advisiamo como di questa maledetta stirpe non se ne troverà mai più radice. Et del facto delle rocche speramo che per tutto el dì de oggi haverne una, et l' altra assediarli in modo, che per forza bisognerà, che pigli partito. Ex Forlivio die 19. Aprilis 1488.

N° LXXII.

Magistro Francisco de Pistorio Ordinis Minorum.

Poggius Florentinus.

VENERABILIS Pater. Pridem habui literas a te ex Chio duplicatas. Ante habueram alias, quibus respondi, et item scripsi ad præstantissimum virum Andream Justinianum; quas literas misi Cajetam, et inde relatum est, literas ad te missas per quandam navem Januensium. Eas existimo quamprimum ad te delatum iri. In prioribus literis, ut primum rescribam ad ea, quæ mihi cordi admodum sunt, scribis te habere nomine meo, hoc est, quæ te ad me delaturum polliceris, tria capita marmorea eximii operis, unum Minervæ, alterum Junonis, tertium Bacchi. Itaque scias me, receptis literis, magno gaudio affectum. Delector enim supra modum his sculpturis: adeo ut curiosus earum dici possim. Movet me ingenium artificis, N° LXXII.

Nº LXXII. scis, cùm videam naturæ ipsius vires repræsentari in marmore. Nunc verò scribis te habere caput Phœbi, et addis ad ejus excellentiam Virgilii versum,

Mirat ducens de marmore vultus.

Nihil potes mihi facere acceptius, mi Francisce, quàm si similibus sculpturis ad me onustus redieris: in quo meo animo morem geres, satisfaciesque quamplurimum. Multi variis morbis laborant, hic præcipuè me tenet, ut nimium forsan, et ultra quàm sit docto viro satis. Admiror hæc marmora ab egregiis artificibus sculpta; licet enim natura ipsa excellentior sit iis, quæ instar ejus fiunt; tamen cogor admirari artem ejus, qui in re muta ipsam exprimit animantem, ita ut nil præter spiritum persæpe abesse videatur. Itaque in hoc maximè incumbas, oro, ut colligas, ac corradas undequaque, vel precibus, vel pretio quicquid ejusmodi magnum putes; si quod verò signum integrum posses reperire, quod tecum afferres, triumpharem certè. Ad hoc advoca consilium Andreæ nostri, cui etiam hac de re scribo; qui si mihi aliquid de suis miserit, bene fœneratum feret: id certe re ipsâ experietur, se complacuisse homini minimè ingrato. Satisfaciam saltem literis beneficio tuo, eumque celebrem reddam apud multos pro sua, si qua erit, in me beneficentia. Nam, quod centum fermè statuas integras scripsisti repertas fuisse Chii, in antro quodam, me diutius suspensum tenuisti varia cogitantem, quid sibi tot statuarum in eo loco voluerit congregatio. Cupiebam extra alas mihi dari, ut quantocius maria possem trajicere, ad ea signa inspicienda. Quid id sit, exquiras perdiligenter, et nihil omittas, quin his rebus suffultus venias, confidasque Poggium tuum pro hoc tuo labore diligentiaque tibi cumulate satisfacturum. Quod tamdiu fueris Chii, culparem, nisi capita illa pro te causam egissent. Sed optimum consilium videtur, quod conferas te eò, unde frequentiores Alexandriam navigant. Unum te oro, ut in reditu naviges tuto mari, et navi tutâ. De capitibus, quod scribis, gratum est; sed omnia mihi devota et concessa existimabo. Cum aspexero imagines illas, quæ mihi rebus cæteris, te excepto, erunt jucundiores, Pontifici, cum tempus se dabit, dicam quæ videbuntur aptiora ad hanc moram excusandum. Sed, ut dicere solebat Cato, *Satis citò, si satis bene.* Dixi Cypriano contribuli tuo, te bene valere, idem ut tuis significet rogans, quod se facturum recepit, cum primum scribet ad suos. Sed tamen scias Pistorii permagnam fuisse pestem præteritâ æstate. Quoniam scio te non esse pecuniosum, quicquid dandum esset pro his, et aliis capitibus, aut signis, pro adimplendo memoriali meo, sumas alicunde mutuò sub fide mea; nam præsto tibi erunt in reditu tuo: quanquam cogam quemdam Januensem, ut scribat ibi Andreolo nostro, aut alteri, ut tibi vel xx. vel xxx. aureos nomine meo tradat,

si

si tibi fuerit opus pro emendis sculpturis. Nos sume pro libito; nam tibi præsto erunt, quemadmodum pollicitus es. Vale, et me Andreolo nostro commenda. Romæ. Nº LXXII.

Nº LXXIII.

Poggius Florentinus, Suffreto, Rhodi commoranti.

VIR insignis, existimo te fortassis miraturum, me hominem ignotum tibi longoque a terrarum tractu disjunctum audere te aliquid rogare, ac si tibi magna consuetudine conjunctus essem. Sed cum videam te eisdem rebus delectari quas ego summo studio perquiro, scio te mihi veniam daturum, si diligentiam tuam fuero imitatus, ut quæ tu omni cura investigas, mihi quoque summa, sentias placere. Dedi olim in mandatis egregio viri fratri Francisco Pistoriensi, magistro in theologia, ad partes Græciæ proficiscenti ut diligenter inquireret, si quid signorum reperire posset, quæ ad me deferret. Delector enim admodum picturis & sculpturis in memoriam priscorum excellentium virorum, quorum ingenium atque artem admirari cogor, cum rem mutam atque inanem veluti spirantem ac loquentem reddunt. In quibus persæpe etiam passiones animi ita representant, ut quod neque lætari, neque dolere potest, simile tristanti ac ridenti conspicias. Scripsit mihi nuper Franciscus magnam copiam horum signorum te congregasse, et illa præcipue quæ fuerunt Garsiæ, quorum et aliqua mihi descripsit. Hoc idem asseverabat modo mihi Petrus Laviola, thesaurarius religionis, vir mihi amicissimus. Quo cum de hujusmodi signis agerem percunctaremque, quomodo aliquid ex tuis habere possem, dixit mihi evestigio, ut ad te scriberem, aliquidque postularem, te virum doctissimum esse atque humanissimum, ideoque mihi quæ peterem non negaturum. Credidi equidem te talem esse. Neque enim ejusmodi signa extimantur, nisi a viris excellenti ingenio et doctrina eleganti, et præsertim dedito studiis humanitatis. Sed quo doctior et liberalior, eo prudentior esse debeo in poscendo. Urget me cupiditas ad petendum, pudor tepide ei remisse cogit rogare. Itaque tantum a te petam, quantum patitur humanitas ac liberalitas tua. Gratissimum mihi erit et præ cæteris acceptum, si quid signorum quæ habes egregiorum, quæ quidem multa esse dicuntur, et varii generis, mihi impertiveris. Colloçabis Nº LXXIII.

Nº LXXIII. munus apud hominem non ingratum, sed qui agere gratias et reddere paratus sit, cum tempus dederit facultatem. Franciscus tecum super hujusmodi re loquetur, rogabitque nomine meo, qui et ipse majorem in modum rogo, ut aliquid mihi concedere velis, aut precibus, aut precio, meque hoc beneficio devincere, quod non frustra in me conferes. Dulce est, inquit Cicero, officium serere, beneficium ut possis metere. Sed nolo multis precibus tecum agere, ne videar diffidere tuæ liberalitati. Romæ.

Nº LXXIV.

Poggius Florentinus viro insigni Andreolo Justiniano.

Nº LXXIV. NON respondi antea literis tuis, neque tibi gratias egi pro muneribus quæ ad me misisti, propterea quod Franciscus Pistoriensis qui ea detulit, adeo suis mendaciis, quæ plura sunt verbis, mihi stomachum commovit, ut non possem quieto esse animo ad respondendum, præsertim cum de eo mihi scribendum esset, qui longe abest a boni viri moribus, qualem eum esse existimabam. Itaque compressi calamum quoad refrigesceret indignatio quam erga eum concepi. Sed ne nunc quidem continere manum potui, quin paulum querar levitatem hominis (ut verbis levioribus utar) ac vanitatem. Nam cum is olim in primo suo ad Græciam accessu, multa mihi scripsisset, maria ut aiunt et montes pollicitus, cum signa plura ad me se delaturum promisisset tua, suaque pariter opera ad inventa, non solum postea non attulit ad me, quæ totiens suis literis prædicaret quæcunque tu ei tradideras mihi deferenda, sed cum Suffretus quidam Rhodius ei consignasset tria capita marmorea, et signum integrum duorum ferè cubitorum, quæ Franciscus se ad me allaturum promisit, capita quædam dedit, signo autem me fraudavit, asserens id sibi infirmo corpore e navi esse sublatum. In quo ut conjicio, manifeste mentitus fuit. Non enim marmoris sculpti Cathalani cupidi sunt, sed auri, & servorum quibus ad remigium utantur. Capita vero illa quæ mihi tradi volebas, non Cathalani vi aut ferro subripuerunt, sed Florentiam sunt comportata, quæ ille quibus voluit donavit. Quæ cum ego moleste ferrem, tamen promissionibus suis credens, cum in Græciam rediturus esset, cupiebam enim præsentem injuriam futuro beneficio compensari, nihil de ea re ad te scripsi. Adde quod cum ille secum detulisset

detulisset quosdam capita impressa in cera, aptissima ad obsignandum literas, idque se tuo mandato fecisse testaretur, ut aliquod elicerem quod ad me destinare cupiebas, non modo signum non attulit, cum illum multis ad id verbis hortatus essem, sed alia insuper promissione elusit. Primæ literæ quas ad me scripsisti, capite quodam satis venusto erant obsignatæ, quod ille nomine tuo mihi promisit, cum ille nunc in adventu suo (novissimæ enim literæ alio capite signatæ erant) nihil secum tulisset. Dixit item te secundum signum mihi si id cuperem traditurum, quod idem etiam alteri promisit. Capita vero quæ ad me per eum misisti, curavit ut Cosmo traderentur, mihi simulans, se ægre ferre quod in manus alterius devenissent. Cosmo vero qui hic est, dixit se illi gratias agere quod illa accipere dignatus esset, et simul illi quoque signum quo epistolam obsignasti, quod est Trajani caput, se daturum operam dixit ut sibi traderetur. Itaque, vides quanta hominis hujus sit fallacia, quanta verbositas, quanta verborum officina. Scio ego, neque hoc exprobandi causa dico, quantum mihi Franciscus debeat. Scio quæ mea fuerint in illum officia, taceo benevolentiam, charitatem, amorem, quo illum ut virum bonum complectabar, ut paulum ista absterrere hominem debuissent, ne me totiens fallendo deciperet. At illum non solum prioris errati non pœnituit, sed illud majore fraude cumulavit. Reddidit tamen numisma aureum, cultellos, et item munuscula que preclarissima fœmina uxor tua, ad meam uxorem destinavit, quæ fuerunt ambobus gratissima. Pro his ago tibi literis gratias, quando quidem re ipsa non possum. Dona tua Pontifici me intermedio sunt reddita, quæ ille grato animo cepit. Dispensationem pro filia tua nubenda ego solus procuravi fecique ut satisfacerem aliqua ex parte meritis in me tuis, pro ea vero nihil expensum est. Reliquorum vero quæ quærebas, curam Francisco reliqui, ut ea procuret apud eos quos pluris quam me fecit. Sed nisi cito deficiam, reddam ei beneficium cumulatum. Hæc quæ scripsi vera esse sicut Evangelium puta, nulla in re mentior, scripta sunt ex ipsius ore veritatis. Si qua deinceps a me velis, aut si quid amplius ad me mittere volueris, nulla in re utaris opera, aut intercessione Francisci, qui enim præsentem decipere non est veritus, multo audacius fraudare absentem non formidabit. Sum tecum de eo pro suis operibus parcissime locutus. Hæc ad te scripsi manu festina. Saluta lætissimam mulierem uxorem tuam, et simul filiam, meis ut uxoris meæ verbis. Ego mi Andreole tuus sum. Vellem tecum aliquid rerum mearum participare, sed cui tradam nescio. Scribas mihi ad quem Januæ ea mittere possim, qui illa curet ad te deferenda. Vale, et me ama. Vellem ego signum aliquod aptum ad signandum literas, si

N° LXXIV.

quod

Nº LXXIV. quod habes superfluum usui tuo, quod quidem egregium sit tuga per amicitiam nostram, ut ullum mihi elargiri digneris, aliqua in re alia munus recognoscam. Ferrariæ die 15 mensis Maii.

Nº LXXV.

Extat Liber in Tabulario Mediceo qui inscribitur Libro scritto anno 1464, appartenente a Piero di Cosmo de' Medici *in quo hæc gemmæ et numismata enumerantur.*

Nº LXXV. MEDAGLIE cento d' oro pesano libbre 2 oncie una fior. . . 300
Medaglie cinquecentotre dariento pesano libre sei 100
Un' anello d' oro con una corniuola d' una mosca in cavo . . . 7
Un' anello d' oro con una corniuola con uno cigno in cavo . . . 7
Un' anello con una testa d' un Fauno di rilievo di diaspro . . . 10
Un' anello d' oro con una testa di donna di rilievo in cammeo . . 10
Un' anello d' oro con due rubini con una testa di Domitiano di rilievo 15
Un' anello d' oro con la testa di Medusa di rilievo 20
Un' anello d' oro con la testa di Cammilla in cammeo di rilievo . 60
Un suggello d' oro con una figura in damatisto in cavo . . . 30
Un suggello d' oro con una testa d' uomo in damatisto in cavo . . 20
Un suggello d' oro con una testa di donna in damatisto in cavo . 15
Uno Niccolo legato in oro con la testa di Vespasiano in cavo . . 25
Una corniuola legata in oro con uno uomo mezzo pesce et una fanciulla in cavo 25
Una corniuola legata in oro con una femina a sedere, et uno maschio ritto in cavo 25
Un Cammeo legato in oro con una testa di uomo in nudo in cavo . 40
Un Cammeo legato in oro con una testa vestita in cavo 50
Uno Sardonio legato in oro con un toro in cavo 60
Una corniuola legata in oro con una testa di Adriano di rilievo . 50
Un Cammeo legato in oro con una testa di fanciullo di rilievo . . 50
Uno Calidonio legato in oro con una testa di tutto rilievo . . . 40
Un Cammeo con una testa d' uomo di rilievo legato in oro . . 50
Un Cammeo legato in oro con 2 figure ritte di rilievo 60
Un Cammeo legato in oro con 2 figure, et un lione di rilievo . . 60

Un Cammeo legato in oro con tre figure, ed un albero di rilievo .	60	N° LXXV.
Un Cammeo legato in oro d' assai rilievo con 2 figure una a sedere, e una ritta	70	
Un Cammeo legato in oro con due figure, e un albero in mezzo, &c. di rilievo	80	
Un Cammeo legato in oro con la storia di Dedalo di rilievo . .	100	
Un Cammeo legato in oro con una figura, et uno fanciullo in spalla di rilievo	200	
Un Cammeo legato in oro con l' Arca di Noè, et più figure, et animali di rilievo	300	
Una tavola di bronzo dorato con saggi di ariento	100	
Una tavola greca con uno S. Michele de Bario legata in ariento dorato	20	
Una tavola greca di pietra fine con nostra Donna, et 12 Apostoli ornata d' ariento	25	
Una tavola greca di Musaico con S. Jo. Batista intero ornata d' ariento	20	
Una tavola greca di Musaico ornata d' ariento col Giudizio . . .	30	
Una tavola alla greca con una nostra Donna ornata d' ariento . .	35	
Una tavola greca con nostro Signore dipinto ornata d' ariento . .	40	
Una tavola greca con 2 figure ritte di Musaico ornata d' ariento .	50	
Una tavola greca di Musaico con una Annuntiata ornata d' ariento	40	
Una tavola greca di Musaico con uno S. Niccolò ornata d' ariento	50	
Una tavola greca di Musaico con uno mezzo S. Jo. ornata d' ariento	60	
Una tavola greca di Musaico con uno S. Piero ornata d' ariento .	50	
Una tavola greca con una ½ figura del Salvatore ornata d' ariento .	100	
Una tavola d' ariento dorato con uno quadro smaltato, et tondo .	50	
Una tavola d' ariento intagliata la paxione di Cristo	15	
	2624	
Succedunt his e diversi vasi preziosi, e altre cose di valuta, che fanno la somma di Fiorini	8110	
Varie gioje inventariate che fanno la somma di Fior.	17689	
Gli arienti, che si trovavano in Firenze, e nelle Ville di Careggi, e di Cafaggiolo.		
Catalogo dei libri.		

Matthæi

N° LXXVI.

Matthæi Bossi ad Laurentium Medicem,

Exhortatoria ut Abbatiam Fesulanam pergat absolvere. Epistola.

N° LXXVI. QUOD tu Laurenti clarissime atque magnanime fortasse vix cogitas, omnes, qui in Fesulanum ad nos divertunt inspecturi monasterium omni opere clarum, intuentibusque mirabile, cum partiunculas illas, templi frontem, scilicet et subsellia fratrum, quæ Chorus appellantur, non nullaque alia minora conspiciunt inabsoluta senescere, relictaque jacere, conversi ad te suspirant, tibique animum ad hæc perficienda divinitus dari, ut datæ sunt divinitus vires, comprecari non desinunt. Ego vero, qui templo, ædibusque surgentibus operam, curam, intentionemque etiam non exiguam præsens adhibui, charusque ex mea hac diligentia tuis progenitoribus extiti, et qui mecum sub his tectis Concanonici Christo famulantur et militant, quantum fœlicem hunc diem, quo beneficam tuam manum apponas operi peroptemus, nullis plane verbis satis indicare possum. Vincit enim hic ardor, qui decorem domus Dei et locum habitationis gloriæ ejus tantopere cupit, ac diligit, eloquium meum omne, atque sermonem. Taceo ordinem universum nostrum, omni præsertim Italia diffusum, et Deo miserante numero virtutibusque nitentem, cujus vel tibi aliqua ratio habenda etiam est, cum tui peculiarius simus omnes, et quantum fictilia et moribunda vascula possumus tua pro salute, quæ una omnium est et concivium tuorum et nostra, precibus, gemitibus, votis, meritorumque suppetiis cælum pulsamus. Nullæ hinc atque hinc litteræ, quibus non quæratur, num perficiendi operis tibi insideat animus. Quod si cœperis velle, atque ita equidem velle, ut incipias agere, non solis nobis, qui tecum Florentiæ degimus, sed singulis qui ferme omnem ut diximus, Italiam complent, nostris te confratribus dum stabit Regularis hæc nostra religio, excolendum memorandumque præstabis, tantus est universorum delubri hujus amor, et ut absolvatur aviditas. Quibus plane rebus versatis sæpe mecum atque libratis consilioque eorum maxime adhibito, qui chari tibi sunt, tuaque pro dignitate et laude vel animas objectarent, statui equidem mihi te Laurenti insignis atque magnanime, multa, alia atque diversa cogitantem, rei præterea publicæ tuæ perpetuo consulentem, et cælestis providentiæ dono fœlici omnium commodo primatum agentem, ad nos etiam tanquam ad præclaram aliquam tuam laudem, ac sempiternam in cælo mercedem revocare atque convertere, quæ inchoatum a paterno

paterno tuo Avo, deinde a Petro genitore destitutum nunquam opus, nec prorsus ipse destituas, eorum virtutum omnium, atque opum, hæres non modo pulcherrimus, et nobilissimus, sed tantæ præterea fœlicitatis et nominis, ut majora quam illi ipsi unquam, tu facile possis, qui avitam virtutem omnem, fortunas, atque potentiam servasti non solum, ac tenuisti, sed afflante tibi Christo, tam longe lateque extendisti, ac dilatasti, ut nemo jam videat, quo te sublimius tua virtus possit attollere, et illustrius collocare. Ingens animus, ac sapientissimus tuus, effloruit in utraque fortuna admirabilis atque conspicuus, omniumque vocibus nobilitatus. Quid Laurenti, per Deum, tu virium, tu ingenii, tu fortitudinis declarasti, cum furentem illam fragoremque tonantem, et innocentissimi tui sanguinis et generosi spiritus necem extremaque nefanda exanhelantem modo cædens, modo repugnans incredibli constantia, dexteritate, prudentiaque tua sub jugum traxisti, et tanquam manibus post terga revinctam in triumphum duxisti? Quæ tandem cum grassari violentius ultra non posset, benigno te vultu conspexit vel invita. Quam certe fortunam non ut insanus hominum furor vel omnipotentem vel divinam appello; sed in quo Peripatetici, nostrique catholici recte conveniunt, vim quandam et flatum, unde aut quomodò fiat ignotum. Hanc contra assistentem tibi Deum, proximeque tuentem habuisti: illi te conciliante virtute, Sanctorumque gemitibus, qui fidentes illi atque clamantes novit exaudire, de angustiis eripere, atque salvare: ut inde elucescat vox illa lætissimi Pauli, ut castigati et non mortificati, et quasi morientes, et ecce vivimus: manasseque et videatur comicus etiam ille versiculus, Qui per virtutem peritat, non interit. Tu itaque protectus divinitus atque servatus, una et immortalitatis gloriam tibi propagasti, et incolumitatem patriæ quietisque dulcedinem attulisti. Quæ cum flos Italiæ jure nuncuperetur, et extet, sic fausto cælestique dono te suum alumnum insignem, charissimasque delicias peperit, cujus auspicio, sapientia, virtute mirabili, fœlix degeret, atque regnaret, quod semper est assecutura facillime, si quandiu tibi vita supererit, quibus cæpisti itineribus gradiere et te non cura modo, sed procuratio atque anxietas tuendæ illius atque ornandæ semper incenderit, pro qua dedisti hactenus et opes et sanguinem, et ab cujus cervicibus bellorum pericula plerumque propulsasti, qui et imperium auxisti, et Tuscum nomen ad barbaras usque et remotissimas gentes extendisti. Tibi serenissimi Reges, tibi respublicæ potentissimæ, tibi Sultanus grandis, tibi formidatus omnibus Turcorum imperator mittunt et legatos et munera: Te Romanus pater, terrestris Deus et mortale numen, acceptissimum et perdilectum veluti filium salutari ac beatissimo complexus est sinu. Complexi et

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pileati patres, qui tuum filium adhuc impuberem eu primis litterarum institutis, ac sanctis moribus sub pedagogo coalescentem, cardinei culminis numero adjungere ultra mores et leges non dubitarunt. Tu lucrosæ civitati ubique fere gentium atque locorum commercia tutissima et mercaturam coaptasti, ut cæteris ferme Italis urbibus tua ista (dicam ut audio) et nummatior sit, et omni cultu et affluentia rerum uberior. At vero famem atque penuriam, si quando incidit, vel consilio, vel opibus ingentibus tuis, patria pietate, aut levasti, aut propulisti, atque ita, ut reliquæ sæpe Italiæ oræ, tractusque famelici, in Florentinum agrum, quod mirum videtur, sed ita sane res est, ad lanificium, effossiones, cementationes, scrobationes, ligonizationes, reliquaque onera sordida ac despicatissima, ceu ad beatas olim promissionis glebas confugerint. Sed qualis ego aut quantus tuarum laudum campum usurpo, qui ab illo eloquentiæ atque doctrinæ nitore longe equidem absum, qui explicandæ convenit rei? cui neque hujus negotii impræsens est ullo modo propositum? cum ad incitandum te magis ac permovendum mea tota annitatur et gliscit oratio? Quam ut exaudias Laurenti benefice invocatum supplex te venio, cohortor, adjuro. Neque enim alium præter te incolumem hæc fabrica habet, quem citra injuriam possit rogare. Ex te pendet tota, tuoque genere sui auctore, ut quæ per illos crevit in tantam admirationem et decus, per te æque hæreditario quodam jure accipiat postremam dignitatem, levigationem, et manum. Negotium exigui sane temporis, parvique sumptus, at speciosissimum, at necessarium, at pium, at sanctum, planeque et omnibus gratum, his maxime, qui tam pio inflammatoque studio opus cœpere, majoribus illustribus tuis, nisi tam humanis exuti, ut superstitiose in poetarum fabulis est, lethæo amne libato humana dememinere. Sed absit a nobis, et ab salutari sanctaque fide somniatus hic gurges, oblivionem ac noctem offundens atque involvens profectis a nobis. Perniciosa hæc infidelitas est, ratione vacans et mente, sacrisque repugnans litteris, præclarisque et multis Sanctorum exemplis, ac visis. Sed quod ad te attinet, dabit ista res imprimis immensum tibi ac sempiternum præmium apud illum, Laurenti, illum inquam, qui pro his caducis parvisque muneribus, spondet munus æternum. Dabit et inter mortales, quibus omnibus magis, quam nobis ipsis nati singuli sumus, tibi laudem et gratiam, qua nulla honestior, nulla communior, nulla dulcior, nullaque et diuturnior. Pecunia, signa toreumata, purpura, gemmæ, ambitiosus victus et prodigus, equorum strata, multitudo puerorum, omnia vix diurna, quin effugiunt velut umbra. At operum magnificentia sanctorum, maxime et publicorum, æternitatem quandam æmulatur, vel monumentis litterarum illustrata, vel quod

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ut permanere hujusmodi talia diutissime possint, vim habent atque naturam; cumque ea ipsa senuerint, religione præcipua tum excolantur, quod vicinitatem habere cum Deo videntur quæ longissime perstant; cum lapsa corruerint, misericordiam et pietatem etiam ab hostibus sentiant. Sane itaque quæcunque ad magnum illud sacrificium transtuleris, cœlestique arca condideris, ea sola Laurenti et tua, et tibi propria erunt, neque cum iis varia insolensque fortuna communicabit unquam, sed neque ulla temerabit invidia. Cogita tu omnium prudentissime, quantum ex hoc majores tui Medicæ familiæ reliquerunt honoris et nominis. Quantus odor religionis et pietatis omnium implevit aures atque intuitus et ad devotionem animos incitavit. Vestes et gemmas, servos, ministros, ancillas, cæteraque id genus nemo curat, nemo commemorat, nemo et prædicat, quoniam utique danda fortunæ sunt ista. Aedificiorum vero sumptus, et sacrarum ædium ornatus, quoniam virtutis sunt opera, quisque non civis modo, sed peregrinus, non Italus noster, sed Barbarus quoque obstupescit, nec urbem præterit, nisi prius collustratis tantis operibus, tamque magnificis atque sublimibus. Hæc quæruntur studiose, hæc visuntur cupide, hæc obstupescunt quotidie omnigenæ gentes et populi. Hinc per omnium ora, Cosmi nomen, et Petri genitoris tui vagatur et volitat, et emortui adhuc versantur in luce celebrati omnium linguis et litteris. Quæso quo zelo incendebatur Cosmus idem noster jam senex, eventusque præsagiens, cum Fesulanum, quo de nunc agimus, opus construeretur, qui nos exsuscitans frequenter aiebat, Euge fratres, instate strenue operi, satagite, manus ducite, ad vesperum inclinatur, et properat dies, festinatque et subit occasus. Et tuum genitorem eo tempore dixisse memini, Quantum vestro pecuniarum impendimus operi, tantum extra petulantiam ludumque fortunæ nobis in lucrum concedit. His impensis aluntur artifices, sustentantur inopes, cohonestatur patria, et religiose excolitur Deus. Te idem sensisse atque optasse jamdudum facile credimus, immo confidimus, Magnanime Laurenti ac pientissime. Sed tempora quandoque vidimus, et occasionem tuo voto defuisse. Nunc vero cum arrideat tibi summa prosperitas, teque eo dignitatis et loci pervexerit non casus aliquis, sed maxima tua et admirabilis virtus, ut honoribus, potentia, opibus, nulla recordatione majoribus ornatus sis ac cumulatus; aggredere ac perfice prospero sidere, ac benefactore Jesu Christo favente, nostram hanc quam te rogavimus fabricam. Quod ut quam efficere, ardenter omnes vitam tibi incolumitatemque precabimur. Vale Tuscæ gloriæ, splendor, et pater, tuosque supplices audi. Ex Abbatia Fesulana tua, Nonis Septembribus.

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Angelus Politianus, Jacobo Antiquario suo. S. D.

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Quod homo, ut semper cautissimus, intellegens, nihil prius habuit, quàm ut animae medicum accerseret, cui de contractis tota vita noxiis Christiano ritu confiteretur. Quem ego hominem postea mirabundum, sic propè audivi narrantem, nihil sibi unquam neque majus, neque incredibilius visum, quam quomodo Laurentius constans, paratusque adversus mortem, atque imperterritus, et præteritorum meminisset, et præsentia dispensasset, et de futuris item religiosissime prudentissimeque cavisset. Nocte dein media quiescenti, meditantique, sacerdos adesse cum sacramento nunciatur. Ibi vero excussus, *Procul*, inquit, *a me hoc absit, patiar ut Jesum meum, qui me finxit, qui me redemit, ad usque cubiculum hoc venire: tollite hinc obsecro me quamprimum, tollite, ut Domino occurram.* Et cum dicto sublevans ipse se quantum poterat, atque animo corporis imbecillitatem sustentans, inter familiarium manus obviam seniori ad aulam usque procedit, cujus ad genua prorepens, supplexque ac lachrymans: *Tune*, inquit, *mitissime Jesu, tu nequissimum hunc servum tuum dignaris invisere? At quid dixi servum? immo vero hostem potius, et quidem ingratissimum, qui tantis abs te cumulatus beneficiis, nec tibi dicto unquam audiens fuerim, et tuam toties majestatem læserim. Quod ego te per illam qua genus omne hominum complecteris, charitatem, quæque, te cælitus ad nos in terram deduxit, nostræque humanitatis induit involucris, quæ famem, quæ sitim, quæ frigus, æstum, labores, irrisus, contumelias, flagella et verbera, quæ postremo etiam mortem, crucemque subire te compulit; Per hanc ego te salutifer Jesu quæso, obtestorque, avertas faciem a peccatis meis; ut cum ante tribunal tuum constitero, quo me jamdudum citari planè sentio, non mea fraus, non culpa plectatur, sed tuæ crucis meritis condonetur. Valeat, valeat in causa mea, sanguis ille tuus Jesu preciosissimus, quem pro asserendis in libertatem hominibus, in ara illa sublimi nostræ redemptionis effudisti.* Hæc atque alia cum diceret lachrymans ipse, lachrymantibusque qui aderant universis, jubet eum tandem sacerdos attolli, atque in lectulum suum, quo sacramentum commodius administraretur, referri. Quod ille, cum aliquandiu facturum negasset, tamen ne seniori suo foret minus obsequens, exorari se passus, iteratis ejusdem fermè sententiæ verbis, corpus ac sanguinem dominicum plenus jam sanctitatis, et divina quadam majestate verendus accepit. Tum consolari Petrum filium (nam reliqui aberant) exorsus, ferret æque animo vim necessitatis admonebat, non defuturum cælitus patrocinium, quod ne sibi quidem unquam in tantis rerum, fortunæque, varietatibus defuisset; virtutem modo et bonam mentem coleret, bene consulta bonos eventus paritura. Post illa contemplabundus aliquandiu quievit, exclusis dein cæteris eundem ad se natum vocat, multa monet, multa præcipit, multa

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multa edocet, quæ nondum foras emanarunt, plena omnia tamen (sicuti audivimus), et sapientiæ singularis, et sanctimoniæ; quorum tamen unum quod nobis scire quidem licuerit, adscribam. *Cives*, inquit, *mi Petre, successorem te meum haud dubie agnoscent. Nec autem vereor, ne non eadem futurus authoritate in hac Republica sis, qua nos ipsi ad hanc diem fuerimus. Sed quoniam civitas omnis corpus est (quod ajunt) multorum capitum, neque mos geri singulis potest, memento in ejusmodi varietatibus id consilium sequi semper, quod esse quam honestissimum intelleges, magisque universitatis, quam seorsum cujusque rationem habeto.* Mandavit et de funere, ut scilicet avi Cosmi exemplo, justa sibi fierent, intra modum videlicet eum qui privato conveniat. Venit dein Ticino Lazarus vester, medicus (ut quidem visum est) experientissimus, qui tamen sero advocatus ne quid inexpertum relinqueret, preciosissima quædam gemmis omne genus, margaritisque conterendis medicamenta tentabat. Quærit ibi tum ex familiaribus Laurentius (jam enim admissi aliquot fueramus) quid ille agitaret medicus, quid moliretur. Cui cum ego respondissem, epithema eum concinnare, pro præcordia foverentur, agnita ille statim voce, ac me hilare intuens (ut semper solitus) *heus*, inquit, *heus Angele*, simul brachia jam exhausta viribus ægre attollens, manus ambas arctissime prehendit. Me vero singultus lachrymæque cum occupavissent, quas celare tamen rejecta cervice conabar, nihilo ille commotior, etiam atque etiam manus retentabat. Ubi autem persensit fletu adhuc præpediri me, quo minus ei operam darem, sensim scilicet eas, quasique dissimulanter omisit. Ego me autem continuo in penetrale thalami conjicio flentem, atque habenas (ut ita dicam) dolori et lachrymis laxo. Mox tamen revertor eôdem, siccatis quantum licebat oculis. Ille ubi me vidit, vidit autem statim, vocat ad se rursum, quæritque perblande, quid Picus Mirandula suus ageret. Respondeo, manere eum in urbe, quod vereatur, ne illô si veniat, molestior sit. At ego, inquit, vicissim ni verear, ne molestum sit ei hoc iter, videre atque alloqui extremum exoptem, priusquam planè a vobis emigro. Vin' tu, inquam, accersatur? Ego vero, ait ille, quamprimum. Ita sanè facio, venerat jam, assederat, atque ego quoque, juxta genibus incubueram, quo loquentem patronum facilius, utpote defecta jam vocula, exaudirem. Bone Deus, qua ille hunc hominem comitate, qua humanitate, quibus etiam quasi blanditiis excepit? Rogavit primo, ignosceret quod ei laborem hunc injunxisset, amori hoc tamen et benevolentiæ in illum suæ adscriberet, libentius sese animam editurum, si prius amicissimi hominis aspectu morientes oculos satiasset. Tum sermones injecit urbanos, ut solebat, et familiares. Non nihil etiam tunc quoque jocatus nobiscum,

cum, quin utroque intuens nos; *Vellem*, ait, *distulisset me saltem mors hæc ad eum diem, quo vestram planè bibliothecam absoluissem.* Ne multis. Abierat vix dum Picus, cum Ferrariensis Hieronymus, insignis et doctrina, et sanctimonia vir, cælestisque doctrinæ prædicator egregius, cubiculum ingreditur, hortatur ut fidem teneat; ille vero tenere se ait inconcussam: ut quam emendatissime posthac vivere destinet; scilicet facturum obnixe respondit: ut mortem denique, si necesse sit, æquo animo tolleret; nihil vero, inquit ille, jucundius, siquidem ita Deo decretum sit. Recedébat homo jam, cum Laurentius, Heus, inquit, benedictionem pater, priusquam a nobis proficisceris. Simul demisso capite vultuque, et in omnem piæ religionis imaginem formatus, subinde ad verba illius et preces, rite ac memoriter responsitabat, ne tantillum quidem familiarium luctu, aperto jam, neque, se ulterius dissimulante, commotus. Diceres indictam cæteris, uno excepto Laurentio, mortem. Sic scilicet unus ex omnibus ipse nullam doloris, nullam perturbationis, nullam tristitiæ significationem dabat, consuetumque animi vigorem, constantiam, æquabilitatem, magnitudinem, ad extremum usque spiritum producebat. Instabant Medici adhuc tamen, et ne nihil agere viderentur, officiosissime hominem vexabant, nihil ille tamen aspernari, nihil aversari, quod illi modo obtulissent, non quidem quoniam spe vitæ blandientis illiceretur, sed ne quem forte moriens, vel levissime perstringeret. Adeoque fortis ad extremum perstitit, ut de sua quoque ipsius morte nonnihil cavillaretur, sicuti cum porrigenti cuidam cibum, rogantique mox quam placuisset, respondit: *quam solet morienti.* Post id blande singulos amplexatus, petitaque suppliciter venia, si cui gravior forte, si molestior morbi vitio fuisset, totum se post illa perunctioni summæ, demigrantisque animæ commendationi dedidit. Recitari dein evangelica historia cœpta est, qua scilicet irrogati Christo cruciatus explicantur, cujus ille agnoscere se verba et sententias propè omnes, modo labra tacitus movens, modo languentes oculos erigens, interdum etiam digitorum gestu significabat. Postremo sigillum crucifixi argenteum, margaritis gemmisque magnifice adornatum, defixis usquequaque oculis intuens, identidemque deosculans expiravit. Vir ad omnia summa natus, et qui flantem reflantemque, toties fortunam, usque adeo sit alterna velificatione moderatus, ut nescias utrum secundis rebus constantior, an adversis æquior ac temperantior apparuerit. Ingenio vero tanto ac tam facili, et perspicaci, ut quibus in singulis excellere alii magnum putant, ille universis pariter emineret. Nam probitatem, justitiam, fidem, nemo arbitror nescit ita sibi Laurentii Medicis pectus atque animum, quasi gratissimum aliquod domicilium, templumque delegisse. Jam comitas, humanitas, affabilitas quanta fuerit, eximia quadam

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dam in eum totius populi, atque omnium plane ordinum benevolentia declaratur. Sed enim inter hæc omnia, liberalitas tamen, et magnificentia explendescebat, quæ illum pene immortali quadam gloria ad Deos usque provexerat. Cum interim nihil ille famæ duntaxat causa, & nominis, omnia vero virtutis amore persequebatur. Quanto autem literatos homines studio complectebatur, quantum honoris, quantum etiam reverentiæ omnibus exhibebat, quantum denique operæ industriæque suæ conquirendis toto orbe terrarum, coëmendisque linguæ utriusque voluminibus posuit; quantosque in ea re quàm immanes sumptus fecit, ut non ætas modo hæc, aut hoc seculum, sed posteritas etiam ipsa, maximam in hujus hominis interitu jacturam fecerit. Cæterum consolantur nos maximo in luctu liberi ejus, tanto patre dignissimi, quorum qui maximus natu Petrus, vixdum primum et vigesimum ingressus annum, tanta jam et gravitate, et prudentia, et authoritate molem totius Reip. sustentat, ut in eo statim revixisse genitor Laurentius existimetur. Alter annorum duodeviginti Joannes, et Cardinalis amplissimus (quod nunquam cuiquam id ætatis contigerit) et idem pontifici maximo, non in ecclesiæ patrimonio duntaxat, sed in patriæ quoque suæ ditione legatus, talem tantumque se jam tam arduis negotiis gerit, et præstat, ut omnium in se mortalium oculos converterit, atque incredibilem quandam, cui responsurus planissime est, expectationem concitaverit. Tertius porro Julianus, impubes adhuc, pudore tamen ac venustate, neque non probitatis, et ingenii mirifica quadam suavissimaque indole, totius sibi jam civitatis animos devinxit. Verum ut de aliis in præsenti taceam, de Petro certe ipso cohibere me non possum, quin recenti re testimonium hoc loco paternum adscribam. Duobus circiter ante obitum mensibus, cum in suo cubiculo sedens (ut solebat) Laurentius, de Philosophia, et literis nobiscum fabularetur, ac se destinasse diceret reliquam ætatem in iis studiis mecum, et cum Ficino, Picoque ipse Mirandula consumere, procul scilicet ab urbe, et strepitu; negabam equidem hoc ei per suos cives licere, qui quidem indies viderentur magis, magisque ipsius et consilium, et authoritatem desideraturi. Tum subridens ille, *Atqui jam*, inquit, *vices nostras alumno tuo delegabimus, atque in eum sarcinam hanc, et onus omne, reclinabimus.* Cumque ego rogassem, an adhuc in adulescente, tantum virium deprehendisset, ut eis bona fide incumbere jam possemus. *Ego vero*, ait ille, *quanta ejus et quam solida video esse fundamenta, laturum spero haud dubie quicquid inædificaverò. Cave igitur putes, Angele, quenquam adhuc ex nostris, indole fuisse tanta, quantam jam Petrus ostendit, ut sperem fore, atque adeo augurer (nisi me ipsius ingenii aliquot jam experimento fefellerint) ne cui sit majorum suorum concessurus.* Atque hujus quidem judicii præsagiique paterni, magnum profecto et clarum

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specimen hoc nuper dedit, quod ægrotanti præsto fuit semper, omniaque per se pene etiam sordida ministeria obivit, vigiliarum patientissimus, et inediæ; nunquamque a lectulo ipso patris, nisi cum maxime Respublica urgeret, avelli passus. Et cum mirifica pietas extaret in vultu, tamen ne morbum aut solicitudinem paternam mœrore suo adaugeret, gemitus omneis, et lachrymas incredibili virtute quasi devorabat. Porro autem, quod unum tristissima in re pulcherrimum, ceu spectaculum videbamus, invicem pater quoque ipse ne tristiorem filium, tristitia sua redderet, frontem sibi extempore velut aliam fingebat, ac fluentes oculos in illius gratiam continebat, nunquam aut consternatus animo, aut fractus, donec ante ora natus obversaretur. Ita uterque, certatim vim facere affectibus suis, ac dissimulare pietatem pietatis studio nitebatur. Ut autem Laurentius e vita decessit, dici vix potest, quanta et humanitate, et gravitate cives omneis suos Petrus noster, ad se domum confluentes exceperit, quam et apposite, et varie, et blande etiam dolentibus, consolantibusque, pro tempore, suamque operam pollicentibus responderit. Quantam deinde, et quam solertem rei constituendæ familiari curam impenderit, ut necessitudines suas omneis gravissimo casu perculsas sublevarit, ut vel minutissimum quemque ex familiaribus dejectum, diffidentemque sibi adversis rebus collegerit, erexerit, animaverit, ut in obeunda quoque Republica nulli unquam, aut loco, aut tempori, aut muneri, aut homini defuerit, nulla denique in parte cessaverit. Sic ut eam plane institisse jam viam, atque ita pleno gradu iter ingressus videatur, brevi ut putetur parentem quoque ipsum vestigiis consecuturus. De funere autem nihil est quod dicam. Tantum ad avi exemplum ex præscripto celebratum est, quemadmodum ipse, ut dixi, moriens mandaverat. Tam magno autem omnis generis mortalium concursu, quam magnum nunquam antea meminerimus. Prodigia vero mortem ferme hæc antecesserunt, quanquam alia quoque vulgo feruntur. Nonis Aprilibus, hora ferme diei tertia, triduo antequam animam edidit Laurentius, mulier, nescio quæ, dum in æde sacra Mariæ novellæ, quæ dicitur, declamitanti e pulpito dat operam, repente inter confertam populi multitudinem expavefacta, consternataque consurgit, lymphatoque cursu, et terrificis clamoribus, *Heus heus*, inquit, *cives, an hunc non cernitis ferocientem taurum, qui templum hoc ingens flammatis cornibus ad terram dejicit?* Prima porro vigilia, cum cœlum nubibus de improviso fœdaretur, continuo Basilicæ ipsius maximæ fastigium, quod opere mire singularem toto terrarum orbe testudinem supereminet, tactum de cœlo est, ita ut vastæ quæpiam dejicerentur moles, atque in eam potissimum partem, qua Medicæ convisuntur ædes, vi quadam horrenda, et impetu, marmora im-

N° LXXVII. mania torquerentur. In quo illud etiam præscito non caruit, quod inaurata una pila, quales aliæque in eodem fastigio conspiciuntur, excussa fulmine est, ne non ex ipso quoque insigni proprium ejus familiæ detrimentum portenderetur. Sed et illud memorabile, quod ut primum detonuit, statim quoque serenitas reddita. Qua autem nocte obiit Laurentius, stella solito clarior, ac grandior, suburbano imminens, in quo is animam agebat, illo ipso temporis articulo decidere, extinguique visa, quo compertum deinde est eum vita demigrasse. Quin excurrisse etiam faces trinoctio perpetue de Fæsulanis montibus, supraque id templum, quo reliquiæ conduntur Medicæ gentis, scintillasse nonnihil, moxque evanuisse feruntur. Quid? quod et leonum quoque nobilissimum par in ipsa quâ publice continentur cavea, sic in pugnam ferociter concurrerit, ut alter pessime acceptus, alter etiam leto sit datus. Arreti quoque supra arcem ipsam, geminæ perdiu arsisse flammæ, quasi Castores feruntur, ac lupa identidem sub mœnibus ululatus terrificos edidisse. Quidam illud etiam (ut sunt ingenia) pro monstro interpretantur, quod excellentissimus (ita enim habebatur) hujus ætatis medicus, quando ars eum præscitaque fefellerant, animum desponderit, puteoque se sponte demerserit, ac principi ipsi Medicæ (si vocabulum spectes) familiæ sua nece parentaverit. Sed video me, cum quidem multa, et magna reticuerim, ne forte in speciem adulationis inciderem, longius tamen provectum, quam a principio instituera m. Quod ut facerem, partim cupiditas ipsa obsequendi, obtemperandique tibi optimo, doctissimo prudentissimoque homini, mihique amicissimo, cujus quidem studio satisfacere, brevitas ipsa in transcursu non poterat: partim etiam amara quædam dulcedo, quasique titillatio impulit, recolendæ, frequentandæque ejus viri memoriæ. Cui si parem similemque nostra ætas unum forte atque alterum tulit, potest audacter jam de splendore nominis et gloria, cum vetustate quoque ipsa contendere. Vale 15. Cal. Junias MCCCCLXXXXII. in Fæsulano Rusculo.

N° LXXVIII.

Rime di Jacopo Sanazzaro.

Nella Morte di Pier Leone, Medico.

Il qual per la morte del gran Lorenzo de' Medici fu gittato in un pozzo a Carreggi.

N° LXXVIII. LA notte, che dal ciel carca d'obblìo
Sol portar tregua a' miseri mortali;

Venuta

Venuta era pietosa al pianger mio:
E già con l' ombra delle sue grand' ali
Il volto della terra avea coverto;
E tacean le contrade, e gli animali;
Quando me lasso, e di mia vita incerto,
Non so com', in un punto il sonno prese
Sotto l' asse del ciel freddo, e scoverto.
Ed ecco il verde Dio del bel paese,
Arno, tutto elevato sopra l' onde
S' offerse agli occhi miei pronto, e palese.
Di limo un manto avea sparso di fronde,
E di salci una selva in su la testa;
Con la qual gli occhi, e'l viso si nasconde.
Oimè, Fiorenza, oimè, qual rabbia è questa?
Venìa gridando: oimè, non ti rincrebbe?
Con voce paventosa, irata, e mesta.
Pietosa oggi ver te Tracia sarebbe;
Pietosi i fieri altar di quella terra
La qual sol un Busiri al suo temp' ebbe.
Ben fosti figlia tu d' ingiusta guerra;
Ben sei madre di sangue; e più sarai,
Se vendetta dal ciel non si disserra.
Indi rivolto a me, disse, Che fai?
Fuggi le mal fondate, ed empie mura.
Ond' io tutto smarrito mi destai.
E tanta ebbe in me forza la paura,
Che sconsigliato, e sol, presi 'l cammino
Senz' altra scorta che di notte oscura.
Errando sempre andai fin al mattino,
Tanto, ch' allor da lunge un' ombra scorsi
Ch' in abito venìa di peregrino.
Al volto, ai gesti, ed all' andar m' accorsi
Che spirto era di pace, al ciel amico;
Onde più ratto per vederlo io corsi.
E, mentre in arrivarlo io m' affatico,
Ei riprese la via per entro un bosco,
Sempre guardando me con volto oblico.

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Non

Nº LXXVIII.

Non mi tolse il veder quell' aer fosco,
Che 'l lume del suo aspetto era pur tanto,
Che bastò ben per dirli, Io ti conosco,
O gloria di Spoleto; aspetta alquanto:
E volendo seguire il mio sermone,
La lingua si restò vinta dal pianto.
Allor voltossi; ed io: O Pier Leone,
Ricominciai a lui con miglior lena,
Che del mondo sapesti ogni cagione,
Deh dimmi, questa vita alma, e serena,
Per qual demerto suo tanto ti spiacque,
Che volesti morir con sì gran pena?
Qual sì fero desir nel cor ti nacque
Qual cieco sdegno a non curar ti strinse
Del corpo tuo, che 'n tanto obbrobrio giacque?
Che ti val, se 'l tuo senno ogn' altro vinse?
Che l' ingegno, e 'l valor? se l' ultim' ora
Con la vita la gloria insieme estinse.
O padre, o signor mio, l' uscir di fora,
Come tu sai, non è permesso all' alma;
Nè far si dee, se 'l ciel non vuole ancora;
Che 'l dispregiar della terrena salma
A quei con più vergogna si disdice,
Che più braman d' onor aver la palma.
Ogni riva del mondo, ogni pendice
Cercai, rispose; e femmi un altro Ulisse
Filosofia; che suol far l' uom felice.
Per lei le sette erranti, e l' altre fisse
Stelle poi vidi, e le fortune, e i fati,
Con quanto Egitto, e Babilonia scrisse.
E più luogh' altri assai mi fur mostrati;
Ch' Apollo, ed Esculapio in la bell' arte
Lasciar quasi inaccessi, ed intentati.
Volava il nome mio per ogni parte;
Italia il sa; che mesta oggi sospira,
Bramando il suon delle parole sparte.

Però

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LXXVIII.

Però chi con ragion ben dritto mira,
Potrà veder ch' in un sì colto petto
Non trovò loco omai disdegno, od ira.
Dunque da te rimuovi ogni sospetto,
E se del morir mio l' infamia io porto,
Sappi che pur da me non fu 'l difetto:
Che, mal mio grado, io fui sospinto, e morto
Nel fondo del gran pozzo orrendo, e cupo;
Nè mi valse al pregar esser accorto:
Che quel rapace, e famulento lupo
Non ascoltava suon di voci umane,
Quando giù mi mandò nel gran dirupo.
O dubbj fati, o sorti involte, e strane,
O mente ignara, e cieca al proprio danno,
Come fur tue difese insulse, e vane!
Previsto avea ben io l' occulto inganno
Ch' al mio morir tessea l' avara invidia;
E sapea ch' era giunto all' ultim' anno.
Ma credendo fuggir Ponto, o Numidia,
Di Padoa mi partii, venendo in loco
Ove, lasso, trovai frode, e perfidia.
E qual farfalla al desiato foco,
Tirata dal volar, si riconduce,
Tanto, ch' al fin le pare amaro il gioco:
Tal mi mossi io correndo alla mia luce;
Lorenzo, dico; il cui valore, e 'l senno
A tutta Italia fu maestro, e duce.
Così le stelle in me lor forza fenno.
Or va, mente ingannata; in te ti fida;
Che muover credi il ciel con picciol cenno.
Quell' alma provvidenzia che 'l ciel guida,
Non vuol ch' umano ingegno intender possa
L' ammirando segreto ove s' annida.
E non pur voi che sete in questa fossa,
Ma gli Angeli non hanno ancor tal grazia,
Quantunque scarchi sian di carne, e d' ossa,

Di

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Di contemplar ciascun s' allegra, e sazia
Nel sommo Sol; pur quelle leggi eterne
Lasciando a parte, il ciel loda, e ringrazia.
Tanto si sa là su, quanto decerne
L' alto motor. Colui che più ne volse,
Or geme, e mugghia nelle notti inferne.
Quando dal corpo mio l' alma si sciolse,
Non le gravò 'l partir; ma l' empia fama
Che lasciava di se qua giù, le dolse.
Nè d' altro innanzi a Dio or si richiama:
Se 'l feci, se 'l pensai, se fui nocente,
Tu ciel, tu verità, tu terra, esclama.
O mal nata avarizia, o sete ardente
De mondani tesor, che sempre cresci:
Miser chi dietro a te suo mal non sente.
Or va, infelice; a te stessa rincresci:
Poi che fan senza te più lieta vita
Le fere vaghe, e gli augelletti, e i pesci.
Ma quella man che 'n me fu tanto ardita,
Per ch' è cagion che il mondo oggi m' incolpe
Contra mia voglia a profetar m' invita.
Io dico che di questa, e d' altre colpe
Vedrassi di là su venir vendetta,
Prima che 'l corpo mio si snerve, o spolpe.
Macchiare, ahi stolta, e sanguinaria setta,
Macchiar cercasti un nitido cristallo,
Un' alma in ben oprar sincera, e netta.
Sappi, crudel, se non purghi 'l tuo fallo,
Se non ti volgi a Dio, sappi ch' i' veggio
Alla ruina tua breve intervallo;
Che caderà quel caro antico seggio,
(Questo mi pesa,) e finirà con doglia
La vita che del mal s' elesse il peggio.
Poi volse i passi, e disse: Quella spoglia
Che fu gittata, ed or di tomba è priva,
Ben verrà con pietà chi la raccoglia.

Ma

Ma che più questo a me? pur l' alma è viva, N°
Ed onorata nei superni chiostri, LXXVIII.
Ove umana virtù per fede arriva:
Ivi convien che 'l suo ben far si mostri.

N° LXXIX.

Ex Diario anonymi cujusdam Florentini, quod extat in Bibliotheca Magliabechiana.

A Dì 8. d' Aprile 1492. in Domenica circa ore 5. di notte morì il Magnifico Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, a Careggi, d' età d' anni 44. non finiti, il quale era stato malato circa a mesi due d' una strana infermità, con grandissimi dolori di stomaco e di capo, che mai potettono i Medici conoscere la sua malattia. Dubitossi di veleno, e massime perchè un Mess. Pierlione da Spuleti singolarissimo Medico, che era stato alla cura sua in tutta la malattia, la mattina seguente dopo la sua morte, fu trovato essere stato gittato in un pozzo a' S. Cervagio alla Villa di Francesco di Ruberto Martelli, dove era stato trafugato, perchè certi famiglj di Lorenzo l' avevano voluto ammazzare, per sospetto che non avessi avvelenato Lorenzo, ma non se ne vedde segno alcuno. N° LXXIX.

N° LXXX.

Joannes Cardinalis de' Medici.

Magnifico viro Petro de' Medicis.

CARISSIME frater mi, ac unicum nostrae domus columen. Quid scribam, mi frater praeter lachrimas pene nihil est, perchè considerando la felice memoria di nostro Padre essere manchata, flere magis libet, quam quidpiam loqui. Pater erat, ac qualis Pater! In filios nemo eo indulgentior: teste non opus est, res ipsa indicat. Non mirum igitur, se mi dolgo, se piango, se quiete alcuna non truovo, ma alquanto, mi frater, mi comforta, che ho te, quem loco defuncti patris semper habebo. Tuum erit imperare, meum vero jussa capessere: farannomi e tua comandamanti sempre sommo piacere N° LXXX.

Nº LXXX. piacere supra quam credi potest. Fac periculum: impera; nihil est, quod jussa retardem. Oro tamen, mi Petre, is velis esse in omnes, in tuos praesertim, qualem desidero, beneficum, affabilem, comem, liberalem, con le quali cose non è cosa che non si acquisti, e non si conservi. Non ti ricordo questo, perchè mi diffidi di te, ma perchè così mio debito richiede. Confirmant me multa ac consolantur, concursus lugentium domum nostram factus, tristis totius urbis ac mesta facies, publicus luctus, et caetera id genus plurima, quae dolorem magna ex parte levant; ma quello, che più che altro mi conforta, è l' havere te, nel quale tanto mi confido, quanto facilmente dire non posso. Di quello, che avvisi si debba tractare con N. S. non s' è facto nulla, perchè così è paruto meglio: piglierassi un' altra via, secondo che per le lettere delli Imbasciatori intenderai: credo si piglierà uno modo et più comodo, et più facile, el quale, ut quod mihi videtur, ti satisferà. Vale: nos quoque, ut possumus, valemus. Ex Urbe die 12. Aprilis 1492.

Nº LXXXI.

Laurentio de' Medicis.

A bagno a Vignone, Filius Petrus de' Medicis.

Nº LXXXI. MAGNIFICE Pater, &c. Intesi da Ser Piero par una sua, che hebbi hiermattina, quanto desideravi si facessi circa la venuta di Messer Hermolao, el quale venne hieri dopo mangiare, et quasi ex improviso, che non se ne seppe nulla, se non forse un' hora innanzi. Io gli andai incontro, et da quattro o cinqu' altri in fuora non vi venne altri, et bisognò, che gli smontassi all' osteria, che ancora non era ad ordine la stantia, che vi si menò poi a piè. Subito che io fui smontato, tornai da lui per invitarlo, come mi era suto scripto, et visitarlo, et per intendere quanto voleva stare quì fermo; invitailo per hoggi, et intesi non stava più qui che oggi, et domane cavalcava per essere domane sera a Poggibonsi, o in luogo, che l' altro dì desini in Siena, dove non posso intendere se si fermerà. Noi lo habbiamo hoggi convitato, che non si potria dire, quanto lui lo ha havuto a caro. Habbiamogli dato in compagnia a tavola chi lui desiderava, oltra quelli che lui haveva seco, che haveva un suo fratello carnale, un Segretario di San Marco, et un Dottore. Di quì vi fu el Conte dalla Mirandola, Messer Marsilio, M. Agnolo da Montepulciano, et per torre un cittadino, et non uscire di parente

N° LXXXI.

et letterato, togliemmo Bernardo Rucellai, che non so se habbiamo facto bene o male. Dipoi che havemmo desinato, li monstrai la casa, le medaglie, vasi et cammei, et in summa ogni cosa per insino al giardino, di che prese grande piacere, benchè non credo s' intenda molto di scultura. Pure gli piaceva assai la notitia et l' antiquità delle medaglie, et tutti si maravigliavano del numero di sì buone cose, &c. Di lui non vi saprei dire particulare, se non che è un homo molto elegante nel parlare per quello io ne intendo. Ajutasi delle lettere, et fassene honore et in rubare motti, et in dirne ancora in Latino. Lo aspecto lo vedrete, che non può essere migliore, et secondo i facti. Temperato in ogni sua cosa, et pare ne habbi bisogno, che pare molto cagionevole et debole di complexione. Ha nome di experto in rebus agendis, ma non pare consonino queste cose insieme, che più presto pare da ceremonia che no. Non potrebbe monstrare, più che si faccia, essere vostro amico, et credo sia, et molto gratamente ha ricevuto ogni honore, che gli è stato facto, et non punto alla Veneziana, che non pare di là se non al vestire. Ma secondo che dice ha grandissimo desiderio di vedervi, et dice volere divertere per trovarvi ed abbracciarvi: hovelo voluto significare se a voi facessi per proposito di aspettarlo, che dice havere commissione etiam di salutarvi da parte della sua Signoria. Quì gli è stato facto honore publico da' cittadini, et ristorato del lasciarlo smontare all' Osteria, et stamane innanzi venisse a desinare visitò la Signoria con molte grate parole, le quali non scrivo, perchè credo Ser Niccolò ve le scriverà lui, che così gli ho decto. Fuvi un poco di scandalo, che nel rispondere el Gonfaloniere prese un poco di vento presso al fine, et così si restò senza troppa risposta, che credo nello animo suo se ne ridessi, et ab uno didicerit omnes, che così se ne doleva hoggi qualchuno de' nostri. Circa l' onore non so che mi vi dire altro. El convito come gl' andò farò fare una listra all' Orafo, & ve la manderò forse con questa, se lo trovano. Jacopo Guicciardini si sta così presto un poco peggio che no; chè hieri gli venne un poco d' accidente di tossa, et sputò cosa, secondo dicono quelli sua, molto strana, et pure inoltra con gl' anni in modo, che a lungo andare, a mio juditio, quod absit, io ne dubito più presto che no. La Contessina sta bene, et ha già tre sciloppi, et seguita di purgarsi: et tutta l' altra brigata di quì sta benissimo. Non vi scrivo nulla della libreria, perchè rispecto alla venuta dello Imbasciatore sono a quello medesimo che l' altro dì. Raccomandomi a voi. Firenze a dì 10. di Maggio 1490.

N° LXXXII.

Titi Vespasiani Strozæ.

Ad Angelum Poetam.

Ex. Ed. Ald. 1513.

N° LXXXII.

ANGELE, siquis erit, lacrymosi plena doloris
Qui tua non tristi carmina fronte legat,
Ille feras inter sævis in rupibus ortus,
Aspera duritie vincere saxa potest.
Non ego talis in hoc, sed amici fletibus angor,
Immeriti quem sors vexat acerba mali.
Certe dignus eras hominum, cœlique favore,
Nec tali casus convenit iste viro.
In te consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo,
Nil superest, ut jam possit obesse tibi.
Sed licet in tenues concesserit irrita ventos
Intempestiva spes tua morte Ducis,
Nec promissa Patris servet tibi Filius hæres,
Abstuleritque tuas Gallus adulter opes
Non tamen ista valent rectam infortunia mentem
Eripere, et virtus inviolata manet.
Candidus ille viget morum tenor, et pia vitæ
Simplicitas, nullis est labefacta dolis,
Parsque tui melior fraudem prædonis iniqui
Despicit, ac ferrum, terribilesque minas.
Namque sacros inter celebraberis, Angele, vates,
Seraque posteritas scripta diserta leget.
Et clarum toto stabit tibi nomen in orbe,
Donec in æquoreas Rex Padus ibit aquas.
Dura fuit rerum jactura, ut scribis, at illud
Triste magis, versus tot periisse tuos.
Namque domum, et vestes, nummosque, et prædia siquis
Perdidit, hæc aliqua sunt reparanda via.
Casus, et indulgens hominum præsentia multis
Amissas duplici fœnore reddit opes.
Quis tibi restituet non exemplaribus ullis
Tradita, per longas carmina facta moras?

Quorum

Nº LXXXII.

Quorum siqua manet memori sub mente reposta
Pars tibi, plura tamen pectore lapsa reor.
Atque ita susceptus frustra est labor ille, jacetque
Clarorum in tenebris fama sepulta virum.
Quo fit, ut indigner, doleamque, impune quod ausus
In te sit tantum barbarus ille nefas.
Ille sacras ædes potuit spoliare, Deosque
Qui vertit duras in tua damna manus.
Non illum pudor, aut pietas, aut gratia movit,
Nec vindex magni terruit ira Dei.
Et bona Pieridum dextro tibi numine parta,
Sacrilega rapuit barbara turba manu.
Sed non parva mali restant solatia, quod non
Ullius culpæ conscius ipse tibi es.
Adde quod illustres multi graviora tulerunt
His, quæ tu pateris, nec meruere viri.
Respice Threicii fatum miserabile vatis,
Est et Arioniæ cognita causa fugæ.
Exul, inops, degens in amaris Naso querelis
Finiit extremam per mala multa Diem.
Hos præter facile est aliorum exempla referre,
Quæ quoniam tibi sunt nota, silenda puto.
Sed tamen ad vatem pauca hæc de vatibus istis
Dicta velim, quamvis fabula trita foret.
Quod petis egregii pietas spectata Casellæ
Et favet, et voto est officiosa tuo.
Nec tibi Castellus Regi gratissimus, et qui
Rectum amat, optatam ferre negabit opem.
Nos quoque, si precibus quidquam, studioque valemus,
Si quid apud magnum est gratia nostra Ducem,
Hoc erit omne tuum, nec non curabimus, una
Consulat ut rebus Regia cura tuis.
Cætera semper agat, quamvis dignissima laude
Borsius, haud minor hac gloria parte venit.
Quod bonus afflictis succurrere novit, et idem
Magna solet meritis præmia ferre viris.
Sæpius hoc alii senserunt, Angele, rursum
Ad vivas sitiens ipse recurris aquas.

N° LXXXIII.

Robertus Ubaldinus de Gallieno, Dominicanae Familiae Monachus, de obitu Ang. Politiani.

N° LXXXIII. SEPULTURA *Domini Angeli Politiani.* Item ne memoria oblivioni detur omnino, ubi jacet corpus clarissimi, ac doctissimi, et eloquentissimi viri Domini Angeli Politiani, Canonici Cathedralis Ecclesiae Florentinae, hic mihi suprascripto Fratri Roberto visum est justum, et bonum, annotare locum sepulturae suae, quoniam et teneor, quum fuerit ipse mihi olim magister, et ego illi discipulus, et ejus infirmitati frequenter interfui, una cum venerando Patre, Fratre Dominico Pisciensi, familiari suo, ac etiam morti ejus, imo et qui post mortem ipsius, propriis manibus, ex commissione Reverendi Patris, Fratris Hieronymi Savonarolae, Ferrariensis, Generalis Vicarii tunc Congregationis nostrae S. Marci, dedi eidem habitum Ordinis nostri, et indui corpus ejusdem habitu illo, quem antea in vita optaverat et petierat, et sepulturam apud nos requisierat. Unde et Domini Canonici Ecclesiae superscriptae ad funus ejus venerunt una cum omnibus Fratribus nostri Conventus. Huc detulere corpus ipsius de voluntate etiam suae sororis, et quorumdam nepotum ipsius, qui tunc aderant ea de causa Florentinae urbi, et pro tunc sub deposito quodam in capsa una in Coemeterio secularium, quod juxta Ecclesiam nostri Conventus est, et sub ea portione, quae in Coemeterio ipso est, et in capite portionis ipsius juxta Altare, quod ibidem est, fuit conditum ipsum corpus habitu nostri Ordinis vestitum. Sed post quum nullus attenentium suorum adimplesset, quod dixerant, faciendo sibi ornatum sepulchrum ad memoriale perenne, fuit sepultum in dicta capsa in sepulchro, quod ibidem est commune, ubi Fratres sepeliunt eos, qui apud nos sepeliri petunt, et locum sepulturae apud nos minime habent. Obiit autem praefatus Orator summus, atque Poeta insignis de mense Septembris, credo quod in principio illius mensis, non tamen memoria mea hoc tenet adamussim, sed de anno Domini 1494. eo anno, quo Comes Mirandulanus, cujus etiam familiari consuetudine utebatur, et ante ipsius obitum per duos menses, et obiit in domo horto, qui dicebatur Giardinus Dominae Claricis olim uxoris magnifici Laurentii de' Medicis. Fuerat enim praeceptor Petri filii majoris natu ipsius Magnifici Laurentii. Et haec ad memoriam rei sint, &c.

Discorso,

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Discorso, ò Apologia di Lorenzo de' Medici,

Sopra la nascita, et morte d' Alessandro de' Medici primo Duca di Firenze.

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SE io avessi à giustificare le mie azzioni appresso di coloro, i quali non sanno, che cosa sia Libertà, ò Tirannide, io m' ingegnerei di dimostrare, e provocare con ragioni, come gli uomini non devon desiderare cosa più del viver politico, e in libertà, trovandosi la politicà più rara, e manco durabile in ogni altra sorte di Governo, che nella Republiche, e dimostrarei ancora, com' essendo la Tirannide totalmente contraria al viver politico, ch' ei devono parimente odiarla sopra tutte le cose: E com' egli è prevaluto altre volte tanto più questa opinione, che quelli, che hanno liberata la loro Patria dalla Tirannide, sono stati reputati degni de' secondi onori dopo gli Edificatori di quella. Mà avendo à parlare à chi sà, e per ragione, e per pratica, che *la Libertà è bene, e la Tirannide è male*, presupponendo universale, parlerò particolarmente della mia azione, non per domandarne premio, mà per dimostrare che non solamente io hò fatto quello, à che è obligato ogni buon cittadino, ma che io averei mancato & alla Patria, & à me medesimo, se io non l' avessi fatto.

E per cominciarmi dalle cose più note, io dico che non è alcuno, che dubiti, che il Duca Alessandro, (che si chiamava de' Medici,) non fusse Tiranno della nostra Patria, se già non son quelli, che per favorirlo, e tener la parte sua ne divenivan ricchi, i quali non potevan però essere, nè tanto ignoranti, nè tanto accecati dall' utilità, che non conoscessero, ch' egli era Tiranno. Mà perchè ne tornava bene à loro in particolare, curandosi poco del Publico, seguitavano quella fortuna; i quali in vero erano uomini di poca qualità, & in poco numero, tal che non possono in alcun modo contrapesare il resto del Mondo, che lo reputava Tiranno. Nè alla verità, perch' essendo la Città di Firenze per antica possessione del suo popolo libera, ne seguita, che quelli, che la comandano, che non sono del popolo, per comandarla sono Tiranni, come hà fatto la Casa de' Medici, la quale hà ottenuta la superiorità della nostra Città per molti anni con consenso, e participazione della minor parte del popolo: nè con tutto questo ebbe ella mai autorità, se non limitata, insino à tanto che dopo molte alterazioni venne Papa Clemente VII. con quella violenza, che sà tutto il Mondo, per privare della libertà la sua Patria, e farne questo Alessandro Padrone; il quale giunto,

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che fu in Firenze, perchè non si avesse à dubitare, s' egli era Tiranno, levata via ogni civiltà, & ogni reliquia, e nome di Republica, e come fusse necessario per esser Tiranno non esser men' empio di Nerone, nè meno odiatore degli uomini, ò lussurioso di Caligola, nè meno crudele di Falari, cercò di superare le sceleratezze di tutti, perche oltre alle crudeltà usate ne' cittadini, che non furono punto inferiori alle loro, superò (nel far morire la Madre) l'empietà di Nerone, perchè Nerone lo fece per timore dello stato, e della vita sua, e per prevenire quello, che dubitava non fusse fatto à lui. Ma Alessandro commesse tale sceleratezza solo per mera crudeltà, e inumanità, come io dirò appresso; nè fù punto inferiore à Caligola col vilipendere, beffare, e straziare i cittadini con gli adulterii, con le violenze, con le parole villane, e con le minacce, che sono à gli uomini, che stiman l' onore, più dure à sopportare, che la morte, con la quale al fine gli perseguitava. Superò la crudeltà di Falari di gran lunga, perchè dove Falari punì con giusta pena Perillo della crudele invenzione per tormentare, e far morire gli uomini miseramente nel Toro di Bronzo, si può pensare, che Alessandro l' averebbe premiato, se fosse stato al suo tempo, poichè lui medesimo cogitava, e trovata nuove sorti di tormenti, e morti, come, murare gli uomini vivi in luoghi così angusti, che non si potessero, nè voltare, nè muovere, ma si potevan dire murati insieme con le pietre, e co' mattoni, e in tale stato gli faceva morire, e allungare l' infelicità loro più ch' era possibile, non si saziando quel mostro con la morte semplice de suoi cittadini, tal che i sei anni, ch' egli visse nel principato, e per libidine, e per avarizia, e per uccisioni, si posson comparare con sei altri di Nerone, di Caligola, e di Falari, sciegliendoli per tutta la vita loro i più scelerati, à proporzione però della città, e dell' imperio, perchè si troverà in sì poco tempo essere stati cacciati dalla patria loro tanti cittadini, e perseguitati, poi moltissimi in isilio, tanti essere stati decapitati senza processo, e senza cause, e totalmente per vani sospetti, e per parole di nessuna importanza, altri essere stati avelenati, e morti di sua mano propria, ò de' suoi satelliti, solamente per non avere à vergognarsi da certi, che l' avevano veduto nella fortuna, in ch' egli era nato, e allevato, e si troveranno in oltre essere state fatte tante estorsioni, e prede, essere stati commessi tanti adulterii, e usate tante violenze, non solo nelle cose profane, ma nelle sacre ancora, ch' egli apparirà difficile à giudicare chi sia stato più, ò scelerato, e impio il Tiranno, ò paziente, e vile il popolo Fiorentino, avendo sopportato tanti anni così grave calamità, essendo all' ora massime più certo il pericolo nello starsi, che nel mettersi con qualche speranza à liberar la patria, e assicurarla per l' avenire. Però quelli, che pensano,

sano, che Alessandro non si dovesse chiamar Tiranno, e per essere stato messo in Firenze dall' imperatore, qual' è opinione che abbia autorità d' investire degli stati, che gli pare, s' ingannano, perchè quando l' imperatore abbia cotesta autorità, egli non l' ha da fare senza giusta causa, e nel particolare di Firenze egli non lo poteva fare in nessun modo essendoci ne' i capitoli, ch' ei fece col popolo Fiorentino alla fine dell' assedio del 1530, expressamente dichiarato, che non potesse mettere quella città sotto la servitù de' Medici; oltre che quando ben l' imperatore avesse avuta autorità di farlo, e non l' avesse fatto con tutte le ragioni, e giustificazioni del Mondo, tal ch' ei fusse stato più legitimo prencipe del Rè di Francia, la sua vita dissoluta, la sua avarizia, la sua crudeltà l' avrebbono fatto Tiranno: il che si può manifestamente conoscere per l' esempio di Ierone, e del Ieronimo Siracusano; de' quali l' uno fù chiamato Rè, e l' altro Tiranno, perch' essendo Ierone di quella santità di vita, che testificano tutti gli scrittori, fu amato, mentre visse, e desiderato dopo la morte sua da' suoi cittadini, ma Ieronimo suo figliuolo, che poteva parere più confermato nello stato, e più legitimo mediante la successione, fu per la sua trista vita così odiato da' medesimi cittadini, ch' egli visse, e morì da Tiranno, e quelli che l' ammazzarono, furono lodati, e celebrati, dove, s' eglino avessino morto il padre, sarebbono stati biasimati, e reputati parricidi; si che i costumi son quelli, che fanno divenire i prencipi tiranni contro à tutte l' investiture, tutte le ragioni, e successioni del Mondo. Mà per non consumar più parole in provar quello, ch' è più chiaro del sole, vengo à risponder à quelli, che dicono, ancorch' egli fusse Tiranno, che io non lo dovevo ammazzare, essendo io suo servitore, e del sangue suo, e fidandosi egli di me, i quali non vorrei, che portassino altra pena dell' invidia, e malignità loro, se non che Dio gli facesse parenti, servitori, e confidenti del *Tiranno* della loro Patria, se non è cosa troppo empia desiderare tanto male ad una Città per la colpa di pochi, poiche cercano di oscurare la buona intenzione con queste calunnie, che quando le fussino vere, non avrebbono elle forza alcuna di farlo, e tanto più, che io sostengo, che io non fui mai servatore di Alessandro, nè lui era del sangue mio, ò mio parente, e proverò, ch' ei non si fidò mai di me volontariamente. In due modi si può dire, che uno sia servo, ò servitore di un altro, ò pigliando da lui premio per servirlo, ò per essergli fedele, ò essendo suo schiavo, perchè i sudditi ordinariamente non son compresi sotto questo nome di servo, e di servitore; che io non fussi schiavo ad Alessandro è chiarissimo, si come è chiaro ancora (à chi si cura di saperlo) che io, non solo non ricevevo premio, ò stipendio alcuno, ma che io pagavo à lui la mia parte delle gravezze,

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come gli altri cittadini; e s'egli credeva, che io fussi suo suddito, ò vassalo, perch' egli poteva più di me, ei dovette conoscere ch' ei s' ingannava quando noi fummo del pari, si che io non fui mai, nè potevo esser chiamato suo servitore. Ch' egli non fusse della casa de' Medici, e mio parente è manifesto, perch' egli era nato di una donna infima, e di vilissimo stato, da Colle Vecchio, in quel di Roma, che serviva in casa di Lorenzo agli ultimi servizi della casa, ed era maritata à un vetturale, e infin quì è manifestissimo. Dubitasi, se il duca Lorenzo in quel tempo, ch' egli era Fuoriscito, ebbe che fare con questa serva, e s' egli accadde, non accadde più d' una volta; ma chi è così imperito del consenso degli uomini, e della legge, ch' ei non sappia, che quando un donna hà marito, e ch' ei sia dove lei, anchorch' ella sia trista, e ch' ella esponga il corpo suo alla libidine di ogn' uno, che tutti i figliuoli, ch' ella fa, son sempre giudicati, e sono del marito? perchè le leggi vogliono conservar l' onestà, quanto si può. Se dunque questa serva da Collevecchio (della quale non si sà per la sua nobilità nè nome, nè cognome) era maritata à un vetturale, e questo è manifesto e noto à tutto il mondo, Alessandro, secondo le leggi umane e divine, era figliuolo di quel vetturale, e non del duca Lorenzo, tanto ch' egli non aveva meco altro interesse, se non ch' egli era figliuolo di un vetturale della casa de' Medici. Ch' egli non si fidasse di me, lo provo, perch' egli non volle mai acconsentire, che io portassi armi, ma mi tenne sempre disarmato, come faceva gli altri cittadini, i quali egli aveva tutti à sospetto. Oltre à questo mai si fidò meco solo, ancor che io fussi sempre senz' armi, e lui armato, che del continuo aveva seco trè ò quattro de' suoi satelliti; nè quella notte, che fu l' ultima, si sarebbe fidato, se non fusse stata la sfrenata sua libidine, che l' occecò, e lo fece mutare contro à sua voglia proposito, ma come poteva egli essere, ch' egli si fidasse di me, che non si fidò mai d' uomo del mondo? perchè non amò mai persona, e ordinariamente gli uomini non si possen fidare, se non di quelli, che amano. E ch' egli non amasse mai persona, anzi ch' egli odiasse ogn' uno, si conosce, poich' egli odiò, e perseguitò con veleni; e insino alla morte le cose sue proprie, che gli dovevano esser più care, cioè la Madre, et il cardinale Ipolito de' Medici, ch' era riputato suo Cugino. Io non vorrei, che la grandezza delle sceleratezze vi facesse pensare, che queste cose fussono finte da me per aggravarlo, perchè io son tanto lontano dall' averle finte, che io le dico più semplicemente, che io posso, per non le fare più incredibili di quelle, ch' elle sono per natura. Ma di questo ci sono infiniti testimonii, infiniti examini, la fama freschissima, d' onde si sà per certo, che questo mostro, questo portento, fece avelenare la propria Ma-

dre,

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dre, non per altra causa, se non perchè vivendo ella, faceva testimonianza della sua ignobiltà, perchè, ancorchè fusse stato molti anni in grandezza, egli l' aveva lasciata nella sua povertà, e ne' suoi esercizi a lavorar la Terra sin tanto, che quei cittadini, che avevan fuggita dalla nostra città la crudeltà, e l' avarizia del Tiranno insieme con quelli, che da lui n' erano stati cacciati, volsono menare all' imperatore a Napoli questa sua Madre per mostrare a sua maestà, d' ond' era nato colui, il quale ei comportava, che comandasse Firenze. All' ora Alessandro non scordatosi per la vergogna della pietà, ed amor della Madre (quale lui non ebbe mai) ma per una sua innata crudeltà, e ferità, commesse, che sua madre fusse morta avanti, ch' ella andasse alla presenza di Cesare, il che quanto li fusse difficile, si può considerare, immaginandosi una vecchia, che stava a filar la lana, e da pascer le pecore: e s' ella non sperava più ben nessuno dal suo figliuolo, almeno la non temeva cosa sì inumana, e sì orrenda, e se ei non fusse stato, oltre il più crudele, il più insensato uomo del Mondo, ei poteva pure condurla in qualche luogo segretamente, dove se non l' avesse voluta tener da madre, la poteva tener almanco viva, e non voler all' ignobiltà sua aggiugnere tanto vituperio, e così nefanda sceleratezza. E per tornar a proposito io concludo, che, perche lui non amò sua madre, nè il cardinale de' Medici, nè alcuno altro di quelli, che gli erano più congiunti, che egli non amò mai alcuno, perchè, come io ho detto, non ci possiamo noi fidare di quelli, che noi non amiamo; sì che io non fui mai suo servitore, nè parente, nè lui mai si fidò di me. Ma mi par bene, che per esser male informati, o per qualche altro rispetto, dicono, che io ho errato ad amazzare Alessandro, allegandone le sopradette ragioni; mostrino esser molto meno informati delle leggi ordinate contro a Tiranni, e delle azzioni lodate dagli uomini, che hanno morto infino i proprii fratelli per la libertà della patria: perchè se le leggi non solo permettono, ma astringono il figliuolo ad accusare il padre in caso, ch' ei cerchi di occupare la Tirannide della sua patria, non ero io tanto più obligato a cercar di liberar la patria già serva con la morte di uno, che quando fusse stato di casa mia (che non era) a loro modo sarebbe stato bastardo, e lontano 5, o 6 gradi da me; e se Timoleone si trovò ad ammazzare il proprio fratello per liberar la patria, e ne fu tanto lodato, e celebrato, che ne è ancora, perche averanno questi malevoli autorità di biasimarmi? Ma quanto all' ammazzare un che si fidi (il che io non dico di aver fatto) dico bene, che se io l' avessi fatto, io non avrei errato, e se io non l' avessi potuto fare altrimenti, l'avrei fatto. Io domando a questi tali, se la loro patria fusse oppressa da un Tiranno, se lo chiamerebbono a combattere, o se gli farebbono prima intendere,

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tendere, che lo volessino ammazzare, o se eglino andrebbono deliberati per ammazzarlo, sapendo di aver ancor loro a morire, o vero, se cercherebbono di ammazzarlo per tutte le vie, e con tutti gli inganni, e con tutte le stratagemme, purch' egli restasse morto, e loro vivi. Quanto a me, io penso, che non pigliarebbono briga di ammazzarlo nell' un modo, e nell' altro, nè si può credere altrimenti; ppichè biasimano, che io ho preso quel modo, ch' era più da pigliare: se questo consenso, e questa legge, che è fra gli uomini santissima, di non ingannare chi si fida, fusse levata via, io credo certo che sarebbe peggio essere uomo, che bestia, perchè gli uomini mancherebbono principalmente della fede, dell amicizia, del consorzio, e della maggior parte delle qualità, che ci fanno superiori agli animi bruti, essendo che nel resto una parte di loro è di più forze di noi, e di più vita, e manco sottoposti a casi, e alle necessità umane; ma non per questo vale la consequenza, che questa fede, che questa amicizia si abbia da osservare ancora con i Tiranni, perchè si come loro pervertono, confondono tutte le leggi, e tutti li buoni costumi, così gli uomini sono obligati contro a tutte le leggi, e tutte l'usaze cercar di levargli di terra, e quanto prima lo fanno, tanto più sono da lodare. Certo sarebbe una buona legge per i Tiranni questa, che vorrebbero introdurre, ma cattiva per il Mondo, che nessuno debba offendere il Tiranno di quelli in cui egli si fida, perchè fidandosi egli di ogni uno, non potrebbe per vigore di questa nostra legge esser offeso da persona, e non avrebbe bisogno di guardie, o fortezze; sì che io concludo, che i Tiranni in qualunque modo si ammazzino, siano ben morti. Io vengo ora a rispondere a quelli, che non dicono già, che io facessi errore ad ammazzare Alessandro, ma che io errai bene nel modo del proceder poi dopo la morte; a' quali mi sara un poco più difficile rispondere, che a gli altri, perchè l' evento pare, che accompagni la loro opinione, dal quale loro si muovono totalmente, senz' aver altra considerazione, ancorchè gli uomini savii siano così alieni dal giudicare le cose da gli eventi, che gli usino lodar le buone, e savie operazioni, ancorchè l' effetto sortisca tristo, e biasimar le triste, ancorchè lo sortiscano buono. Io voglio oltre a questo dimostrare, non solo, che io non potevo far più di quello, che io feci, ma ancora, che se io tentava altro, che ne risultava danno alla causa, e a me biasimo. Dico dunque, che il fine mio era di liberar Firenze, e l' ammazzar Alessandro era il mezzo. Ma perchè io conoscevo, che questa era un' impresa, che io non potevo condur solo, e communicarla non volevo per il pericolo manifesto, che si corre in allargar cose simil, non tanto della vita, quanto del non poter condurle a fine, io mi risolvetti a far da me, finche io potetti fare senza la compagnia, e

quando

quando io non potevo far più da me cosa alcuna, all' ora allargarmi, e domandare ajuto, il quale consiglio mi successe felicemente fino alla morte di Alessandro, che insino all' ora ero stato sufficiente a far quanto bisognava, ma d' allora in quà cominciai ad aver bisogno di ajuto, perchè io mi trovavo solo senz' amici, e confidenti, e non avendo altre armi, che quella spada, con cui l' avevo morto. Bisognandomi dunque domandar ajuto, non potevo io più convenientemente sperare in quelli di fuora, che in quelli di Firenze? avendo visto con quanto ardore e quanto animo loro cercavano di riavere la loro libertà, e per il contrario con quanta pazienza, e viltà quelli, ch' erano in Firenze sopportavano la servitù, e sapendo, che gli eran parte di quelli, che nel 1530 si eran trovati a difender così virtuosamente la loro libertà, e che il resto erano Fuorusciti volontari, d' onde si poteva più sperare in loro, che in quelli di dentro, poichè questi vivevano sotto la Tirannide, e quelli volevano più tosto esser liberi, che servi; sapendo ancora, che i Fuorusciti erano armati, e quei di dentro disarmati. In oltre tenendo per certo, che quei di fuora volessono unitamente la libertà, e sapendo, che in Firenze vi erano mescolati molti di quei, che volevano la Tirannide, poichè si vidde poi, (che vale il giudicar dagli eventi,) che in tutta quella città in tante occasioni fu chi si portasse, non dico da buon cittadino, ma da uomo, fuorchè due, o tre; e questi tali che mi biasimano, pare che cerchino da me, che io avevo da andar convocando per la città il popolo alla libertà, e mostrar loro il Tiranno morto, e vogliono, che le parole avesson mosso quel popolo, il quale conoscevano non esser stato mosso da fatti. Avevo io dunque a levarmi in spalla quel corpo a uso di Facchino, e andar gridando solo per Firenze, come i pazzi? Dico solo, perchè Piero mio servitore, che nell' ajutarmelo ammazzare si era portato così animosamente, dopo il fatto, e poi ch' egli ebbe a pensar il pericolo, ch' egli avea corso, era tanto avilito, che di lui non potevo disegnare cos' alcuna, e non avevo io a pensare, sendo nel mezzo della guardia del Tiranno, e si può dire nella medesima casa, dov' eran tutti i suoi servitori, e essendo la notte un lume di luna splendissimo, di aver io a essere, o preso, a morto prima, che io avessi fatto tre passi fuora dell' uscio? e se io avessi levatagli la testa, che quella si poteva celare sotto a un mantello, dove avevo io a indirizzarmi essendo solo, e non conoscendo in Firenze alcuno, in chi io confidassi? chi mi avrebbe creduto? perche una testa tagliata si transfigura tanto, che aggiunto il sospetto ordinario, che hanno gli uomini di esser tentati, o ingannati, e massime da me, ch' ero tenuto di mente contraria à quella, che io avevo fatto, io poteva pensare di tro-

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var prima uno, che mi ammazzasse, che uno, che mi credesse, e la morte mia in quel caso importava assai, perchè averebbe data riputazione alla parte contraria, e a quelli, che volevano la Tirannide, potendo parere, cho in quel moto fusse in parte la morte di Alessandro vendicata, e così procedendo per quel verso, io potevo più nuocere alla causa, che giovare; però io fui di tanto contraria opinione di costoro, che non che io publicassi la morte di Alessandro, io cercai di occultarla e più che io poteva in quell' istante, e portai meco la chiave di quella stanza, dov' egli era rimasto morto, come quello, che averei voluto, se fusse stato possibile, che in un medesimo tempo si fusse scoperto, che il Tiranno era morto, e che i Fuorusciti erano mossi per venire a ricuperar la libertà, e da me non restò, che così non fusse. Certi altri dicono, che io dovevo chiamar la guardia del Tiranno, e mostrarglielo morto, e domandar loro, che mi conservassono in quello stato, come successore, e in somma darmi loro in preda, e di poi, quando le cose fussono state in mio potere, che io avessi restituita la Republica, come si conveniva. Questi che la discorrono per questo verso, almanco conoscono, che nel popolo non era da confidare in conto alcuno, ma non conoscono già, che se quei soldati in quei primi moti, e per il dolore di veder morto il loro signore avessono morto me (come è versimile) che io avrei perso insieme la vita, e l'onore, perchè ogn' uno avrebbe creduto, che io avessi voluto far Tiranno me, e non liberar la patria; dal qual concetto, sì come io sono stato sempre alienissimo nel mio pensiero, così mi sono ingegnato di tener lontani gli animi degli altri; sì che nell' un modo io avrei nociuto alla causa, e nell' altro all' onor mio: ma io confessarei facilmente di avere errato, non avendo preso uno di questi, o simili partiti, se io non avessi avuto da pensare, che i Fuorusciti dovessero finir meco l' opera, che io avevo cominciata, perchè avendoli io visti venire così francamente à Napoli con tanta riputazione, e con tanto animo, e così unitamente a ridomandare la loro libertà in presenza del Tiranno, ch' era non solo vivo, ma Genero dell' Imperadore, non avevo io a tener per certo, che da poi, ch' egli era morto, che l' Imperadore era in Spagna, e non a Napoli, ch' eglino avessono a raddoppiare, e la potenza, e l' animo che io avevo visto in loro, e che dovessono ripigliare la loro libertà, dove non avessono più constrasto? Certo che mi parrebbe di essere stato maligno, se io non avessi sperato questo da loro, e temerario, se io non avessi preso questo partito. Io confesso, che non mi venne mai in considerazione, che Cosimo de' Medici dovesse succedere ad Alessandro, ma quando io l' avessi pensato, o creduto, io non mi sarei governato al altrimenti

dopo

dopo la morte del Tiranno, che come io feci, perche io non mi sarei mai immaginato, che gli uomini (che noi reputiamo Savii) dovessero preporre alla vera presente gloria, la futura incerta, e trista ambizione. N° LXXXIV.

Egli è altrettanta difficoltà dal discorrer le cose al farle, quanta ne è dal discorrerle inanzi al dopò: Però quelli che discorrono ora così facilmente quello, che io dovevo fare all' ora, se si fussono trovati in sul fatto, avrebbono un poco meglio considerato quanto era possibile sollevare un popolo, che si trovava in corpo una Guardia, e in capo una Fortezza, che gli era di maggiore spavento, quanto la cosa era più nuova, ed insolita a Firenze, tanto più era a me difficile, che oltre al portare il nome de' Medici, ero in concetto di amatore della Tirannide; e così quelli, che discorrono le cose dopo il fatto, veggono che le sono mal successe: se mi avessino avuto a consigliare all' ora, quando eglino avrebbono visto da una banda tanta difficultà, e dall' altra i Fuorusciti con tanto riputazione, e tanto numero, così ricchi, così uniti per la libertà, come tutto il Mondo credeva, e che non avessono ostacolo alcuno al tornare in Firenze, poichè il Tiranno era levato via, io credo, che sarebbono stati di contraria opinione a quella che ora sono, e in somma la cosa si riduce quì, che dove volevano, che io solo disarmato andassi svegliando, e convocando il popolo alla libertà, e che io mi opponessi a quelli, ch' erano di contraria opinione (il ch' era impossibile) io lo volevo fare in compagnia de' Fuorusciti, e col favore degli uomini del dominio, quali io sapevo, ch' erano la maggior parte per noi. E se noi fussimo andati alla volta di Firenze con quella celerità, e risoluzione, che si ricercava, noi non trovavamo fattoci contro provedimento alcuno; nè l' elezione di Cosimo (che era si mal fondata, e così fresca) ci poteva nuocere, o impedire. Se dunque io avessi trovati i Fuorusciti di quell' animo, e di quella prontezza (ch' era però la maggior parte di loro, ma quelli che potevano manco, non avendo altre qualità, che di esser Fuorusciti) nessuno negherà, che la cosa non fusse succeessa appunto, come io mi ero immaginato, il che si può provare, e con molte ragioni, che per non esser troppo lungo, si tralasciano; e per il caso di Monte Murlo, perchè dopo molti mesi, che dovevano, e da poichè eglino avevano lasciato acquistare agli avversarii tanta riputazione, quanto loro ne avevano perduta, succedess' egli di liberar Firenze, se la malignità, e l' innetta ambizione di pochi non avesse dato agli avversarii quella vittoria, che loro stessi non speravano mai, e che quando si viddero vincitori, non potevano ancor credere di aver vinto: tanto che i Fuorusciti perderono un impresa, che da ogn' uno era giudicato, che non si potesse perdere. Però chi non vorrà di nuovo giudicare dagli eventi, conoscerà,

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cerà, che all' ora eglino avrebbon rimesso Firenze in libertà, se si fussono saputi governare, tanto più era la cosa certa, se dopo la morte di Alessandro immediatamente avessono fatto la metà della sforzo, che fecione all' ora, e che non fecero, quando eglino dovevano, perche non volsono; che altra ragione non se ne può assegnare. Ancora voglio confessare a questi tali di essermi mal governato dopo la morte di Alessandro, se loro confessano a me di aver fatto quel medesimo giudizio in quell' instante, ch' eglino intesero, che io l' avevo morto, e che io mi era salvato, ma se feciono all' ora giudizio contrario, e se parve all' ora, che io avessi fatto assai ad ammazzarlo, e salvarmi, e se giudicarono (essendo usciti fuora tanti cittadini, e così potenti, e di tanta riputazione) che Firenze avesse riavuta la libertà, io non voglio concedere loro ora, che si ridichino, nè che pensino, che io mi partissi di Firenze per poco animo, o per soverchio desiderio di vivere, conciòsiacosache mi stimerebbono di troppo poco giudizio, se volessino, che io avessi indugiato insino all' ora a conoscere, che quello, che io trattava era con pericolo, ma se consideravano, che io non pensai mai alla salute mia più di quello è ragionevole pensarvi, e se io me ne andai di poi à Constantinopoli, io lo feci, quando io vidde le cose, non solo andate a mal cammino, ma disperate, e se la mala fortuna non mi avesse perseguitato infin là, forse quel viaggio non sarebbe riuscito vano. Per tutte queste ragioni io posso più tosto vantarmi di aver liberata Firenze, avendola lasciata senza Tiranno, che non posson loro dire, che io abbia mancato in conto alcuno, perche non solo io ho morto il Tiranno, ma sono andato io medesimo ad essortare, e sollecitare quelli, che io sapevo, che potevano, e pensavo, che vollessino fare più degli altri per la libertà della patria loro. E che colpa dunque è la mia, se io non gli ho trovati di quella prontezza, e di quell' ardore, ch' eglino dovevano essere? o che più ne posso io? Guardisi in quello, che io ho potuto far senza l' ajuto d' altri, se io ho mancato. Nel restonon domandate degli uomini, se non quello, che possono, e tenete per certo, che si mi fusse stato possibile fare, che tutti i cittadini di Firenze fussero di quell' animo verso la patria, che dovrebbono, che così, come io non ebbi rispetto per levar via il Tiranno, ch' era il mezzo per conseguire il fine propostomi, e metter a manifesto pericolo la vita mia, e lasciar in abbandono mio padre, mio fratello, e le mie cose più care, e metter tutta la mia casa in quella rovina, ch' ella si trova al presente, che per il fine stesso non mi sarebbe tanta fatica spargere il proprio sangue, e quello de' miei insieme, essendo certo, che nè loro, nè io averessimo potuto finire la vita nostra più gloriosamente in servizio della patria.

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DEO LIBERATORI.

PER non venire più in potere de' maligni inimici miei, ove, oltre all' essere stato ingiustamente e crudelmente straziato, sia costretto di nuovo, per violenza di tormenti, dire alcuna cosa in pregiudizio dell' onore dell' innocenti parenti, et amici miei, la qual cosa è accaduta a questi giorni allo sventurato Giuliano Gondi: Io Filippo Strozzi mi sono deliberato, in quel modo che io posso, quantunque duro (rispetto all' anima) mi paia, con le mie proprie mani finire la vita mia: L' anima mia a Iddio, somma miserecordia, raccomando, humilmente pregandolo, se altro darle di bene non vuole, che le dia almeno quel luogo dove Catone Uticense, e altri simili virtuosi uomini hanno fatto tal fine. Nº LXXXV.

Prego D. Giovan di Luna castellano, che mandi a torre del mio sangue dopo la mia morte, e ne faccia fare un migliaccio, mandandolo a Cibo cardinale, affine che si satii in monte di quello, che satiare non si è potuto in vita, perche altro grado non gli manca per arrivare al ponteficato, a che esso sì disonestamente aspira: E lo prego che faccia sepellire il mio corpo in Santa Maria Novella, appresso à quello della mia donna, quando che nò, mi starò dove mi metteranno: Prego bene i miei Figliuoli che osservino il testamento fatto da me in Castello, il quale è in mano di Benedetto Ulivieri, eccetto che la partita del Bandino; E sodisfare ancora al signor D. Giovan di Luna di molti comodi da lui ricevuti, e spese fatte per me, non l' avendo sodisfatto mai di cos' alcuna; e tu Cesare con ogni riverenza ti prego t' informi meglio de' modi della povera città di Firenze, riguardando altrimenti, che tu non hai fatto al ben di quella, se già il fine tuo non è di rovinarla.

Philippus Strozza, jamjam moriturus.

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

DESCRIPTION of the PLATES.

VOL. I.

FRONTISPIECE—Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, from the museum of *Giovan Battista Dei*, at Florence. I have preferred this portrait to that published by Fabroni, after Ghirlandajo, as bearing a greater resemblance to the medallions that remain of Lorenzo, and as being more conformable to the description of his person by Valori and others.

TITLE PAGE—The arms of the Medici family.

CHAP. I—Portrait of Cosmo de' Medici, from Pontormo. The emblem in the reverse was adopted by Cosmo in reference to the death of his son Giovanni de' Medici, in 1461, and the hopes which he entertained from his surviving offspring.

CHAP. II—The *Giostra*, or Tournament of Lorenzo, from the ancient edition, without date, of the poem on that subject by Luca Pulci.

CHAP. III—Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, with his seal, as preserved in the Strozzi library.

CHAP. IV—The Medal struck by Antonio Pollajuolo, on the conspiracy of the Pazzi.

CHAP. V—A Bacchanalian Scene, from an antique gem in the *Museum Florentinum*, in allusion to the *Canti Carnascialeschi*.

END OF VOL. I—Medallions of Marsilio Ficino, and Luigi Pulci. The former from the *Promptuarium Iconum, Lugd.* 1578. The latter from the rare edition of the *Morgante, Flor.* 1546.

VOL. II.

TITLE PAGE—The *Impresa*, or device assumed by Lorenzo de' Medici, and which generally accompanies his portrait.

CHAP. VI—Medallion of Lorenzo, with the emblem of Florence in the reverse, as given by Adimari in his edition of the *Comment. Conjur. Pactianæ*, of Politiano, *Napoli*, 1769.

CHAP. VII—Medallion of Politiano, with the emblem of Study as the reverse; from the same work.

CHAP. VIII—The Palace of the Medici in Florence, erected by Michelozzi, and now the residence of the family of Riccardi.

CHAP. IX—Portrait of Michelagnolo Buonaroti, from the original print of Giulio Bonasoni, published by Gori, in his edition of the life of Michelagnolo, by Condivi, *Flor.* 1746, where the editor has erroneously attributed it to Giulio Romano.

CHAP. X—Portrait of Leo X. after Raffaello, with his arms and pontifical emblems.

END OF VOL. II.—Medal of Niccolo Valori, the first historian of Lorenzo de' Medici, with the arms of his family, anciently called Rustichelli, from the *Famiglie nobili Fiorentine* of Scip. Ammirato. *Flor.* 1615.

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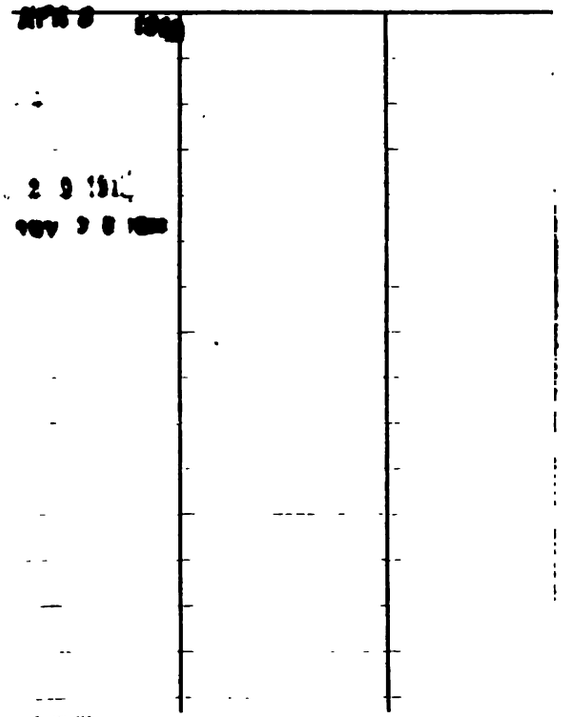

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